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# Current HISTORY

INCLUDING THE HISTORIANS' CHRONICLE OF THE WORLD

PUBLISHED BY THE NEW YORK TIMES CO · NEW YORK

MARCH 1926

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*Walter Prichard Eaton*  
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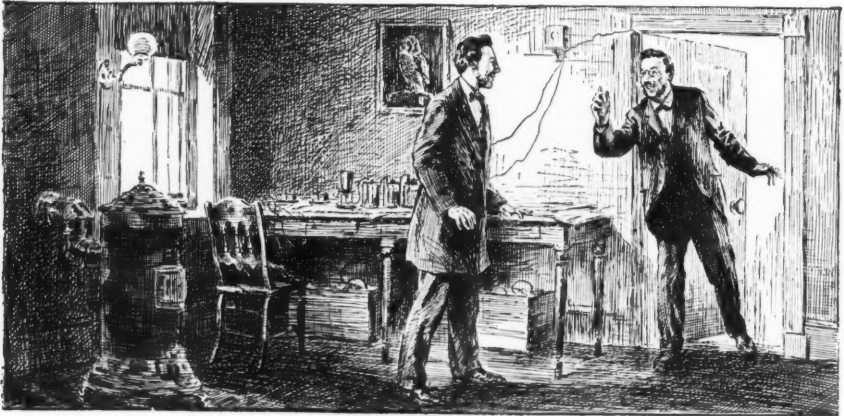
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# CURRENT HISTORY

*INCLUDING THE HISTORIANS' CHRONICLE OF THE WORLD*

Vol. XXIII.

MARCH, 1926

Number 6

## Higher Standards Developing in American Business

By ELBERT H. GARY

Chairman of the United States Steel Corporation

SOMETIMES I hear men ask if the world really has improved in the last twenty-five years. In my opinion it has improved immeasurably within a decade, and I believe the next ten years will witness an even broader and surer movement toward higher ethics in business, in private life and in public affairs.

When we come to consider the ethics of business today compared with the outlook of a quarter century ago, no one who has lived in both periods could doubt the extent and importance of that gain. It has been my privilege to witness a radical change of mental attitude on the part of the men who conduct big business. Perhaps it would be easy to misunderstand that statement or to misconstrue a part of its meaning. I do not wish to imply that the executives of other days personally were unfair or dishonest. It is the matter of ethics I am trying to define. An excellent dictionary supplies as a definition the science of moral duty. Then we may safely conclude that the conception of moral duty in business has greatly altered, especially in its bearing upon the relations of the public and the organizations of business.

When I first came to New York and undertook to meet the problems growing out of the steel consolidation I encountered a code of practice that has almost disappeared. There were numerous and happy exceptions, but the code was the rule in common use. The managers of some large institutions apparently believed that so long as their conduct came within the strict, technical rules of law it was immune from public or private attack. With them the conception of moral duty did not extend beyond the belief that if no provision of public law was violated a corporation should be permitted to earn unlimited profit and might treat indifferently its customers, employes, competitors and even the body politic as a whole. Too often there were officials, actuated by this reasoning, who recognized no barriers when profits were in the making for themselves or their companies.

So far as these men were concerned—and I might say they were sufficiently numerous to constitute a definite group—the Golden Rule received no thought and had no place in the practice of that school and period. Competition was tyrannical

and destructive. Weaker competitors were forced to quit business as the big combinations arose, sometimes by means not only unethical but brutal as well. The graves of insolvents were strewn along the paths of industrial development. The financially strong grew richer and stronger. Instead of competition existing as the life of trade and a very necessary element of progress, it was made the instrument of death in trade. Instead of monopoly being destroyed, it was thus encouraged. Instead of preventing increasing combinations of capital, such combinations were brought into being by the pressure of destructive competition.

#### FALSE ETHICS OF THE PAST

There are many documents furnishing indisputable evidence of the practice prevailing in the period of which I speak. Let me say again that this was not universal, but unquestionably it dominated business to a regrettable degree, to the everlasting humiliation of industrialism. The men responsible had inherited wrong ideals—false ethics—from the past. It would be possible to build up a condemning indictment against them. They failed to give employees just consideration. Wage rates were adjusted strictly in accordance with the laws of supply and demand and with no thought whatever of results to the thousands concerned. The welfare of the typical workman was decided almost entirely from the standpoint of utility and profit.

Such reasoning resulted in a similar stand by employees. Many of them assumed an unreasonable and wholly unethical position with regard to employers. Their forced partnership was marked by secret enmity bordering upon open hostility. And this situation resulted in hardship to the public, the third and most important partner, since costs of production, transportation and delivery necessarily were increased by the turmoil of industry and inevitably were paid by the consumer.

But I think none of these purely material reasons led to a change for the better. On the contrary, I believe we improved our methods when we obtained a new glimpse, a finer conception of ethics. Having admitted, perhaps emphasized, the delinquencies of business in other days, it be-

comes interesting for us to examine conditions today. Certainly it is disturbing that many fair-minded men and women should be incredulous when they hear it maintained the ethics of business has reached a high plane. But it was said for so many years ethics had no place in business that we hardly should be surprised to find a part of the public still holds such a view.

We need but look around us to see evidences on all sides of the new day in business. Operations are conducted under a stricter rule of ethics than ever before. Undoubtedly the world is growing better. It may be asserted with the fullest confidence that in the period of which I write business has undergone a moral overhauling without precedent. To my personal knowledge many men of big affairs have completely changed their opinions and methods concerning ethical questions in business. A host of others unknown to me, men of great interests and small, conducting their affairs in many parts of the country, have adopted this example, consciously or unconsciously. Men who once believed that the subject of ethics in business had little bearing upon their conduct, now assert that a proper code is the controlling element.

The majority of business men conduct operations on the basis that right is superior to might; that morality is on a par with legality and the observance of both is essential to worthy achievement. They regard employees as associates and partners instead of servants. Executives have come to understand that stockholders are entitled to any reasonable information, so that under no circumstances can there be preferential rights or opportunities. At last it has been perceived—and this belief is spreading everywhere—that destructive competition must give way to humane competition; that the Golden Rule is not an empty phrase but a golden principle. Finally, business as a whole sees that full and prompt publicity of all facts involving the public weal, not only must be made possible, but must be insisted upon as a primary tenet of good faith.

Big business generally is exposed to the public view and must always be specially susceptible to public opinion, but little business enjoys no exemption from moral



Harris &amp; Ewing

JUDGE ELBERT H. GARY  
Chairman of the United States Steel Corporation

responsibility. Neither can it escape the weight of public opinion. This factor is one of the greatest influences in life as we live it today; perhaps I might say that it is the greatest in many affairs, though I should like to make the reservation that truth and justice are mighty and must prevail, even when public opinion may be in opposition.

#### FORCE OF PUBLIC OPINION

We have learned—all of us, in our everyday affairs—that the opinion of the world means a great deal. What is thought of us by the man riding in the next seat on the way to work, or sitting at the next desk, has considerable bearing upon our psychology. When we put together the opinions of all the individuals making up the great public we create an abstract force that surpasses any comparison. Its power cannot even be estimated. That power is respected today by the management of every great business. I have faith in the justice of this power, for the mind of the mass is fair and reasonable, but it sometimes goes astray when led by misinformation or a lack of proper information. The existence

of the delicate balance of public opinion has had no small part in contributing to the improvement of business ethics. We all know by our own experience that we cannot sleep or eat well, and cannot long enjoy life in the face of the opposing will of the majority. We dread the condemnation of even a few persons—though it might be undeserved—and that condemnation becomes many times more powerful as it is multiplied by added opinions.

Unquestionably modern business stands in need of such safeguards against its own excesses. If we might imagine a nation without an awakened and enlightened public opinion we should have before us a people helpless to resist the aggressions of great capital. It was the lack of an audible and militant public opinion that made possible the autocracies of the past. When men once began to express their opinions a consolidated power arose that has become the principal protection of the commonalty in our modern world.

If the reader should wish to be critical he might say that the scales of public opinion had been a weightier factor than the growth of an ethical code in improving the general practices of business. But I would ask permission to disagree with his conclusion, although freely admitting the power of opinion and maintaining that its good effects will be largely increased. The gain from this unseen and intangible tribunal where every big enterprise must appear should not be understood merely in terms of fear. In my belief the development of public opinion has been an outgrowth and accompaniment of the new ethical code. It rewards the deserving in as full a measure and with the same sureness as it condemns the transgressor.

I would not wish my remarks to imply that business is conducted for altruistic reasons alone. Such is not the case and never can be, and would constitute a false system of economy, if it were possible. But ethical management earns additional profits. Although this motive may be less worthy than those previously discussed, it is not unworthy, and has the advantages of a practical appeal to those who might not heed any other. Sooner or later the adoption of business ethics pays in dollars and cents.

The door of progress and prosperity is open to everybody in the United States, and we, as a nation, have the greatest opportunity awaiting us known to history. So great is this opportunity that we have no adequate methods of measuring its possibilities. Who may say what will be the sum of our greatness in ten years or twenty-five? Who could have foreseen a quarter century ago the advance achieved since the day that the steel consolidation inducted a period of industrial growth without parallel? And the potential development of the next quarter century is infinitely greater.

Standing upon the threshold of this period, I find a large satisfaction in the improved aspect of business. From considerable experience I assert with confidence and emphasis that the gains of any enterprise, large or small, will increase year by year when such a business is fairly and humanely conducted. There is yet another phase of this power arising from virtue. If the methods and conduct of an executive are sincerely believed by himself to be honest and proper, he will have the courage to stand immovably against any unworthy attack by the unscrupulous

#### BUSINESS PHARISEES

A clear conscience is as mighty a weapon of defense for a business enterprise as it is for an individual. Only those who have passed through an emergency of this kind may know the full significance of that weapon. A standard of ethics may not serve as a substitute for Christianity, but as applied to business the two are not far apart. And business is not without its Pharisees. Self-appointed busybodies have not been lacking in the reformation of business—persons who took no interest in ethical or other considerations until the process was well under way. But they have not been noticeably modest in seeking credit for a movement promoted by many great forces.

Every influence bearing upon the ethical code in business affairs has special force when applied to the individual. Honesty is the keystone of character. Without it a man may have brilliant parts but fail of success because other men distrust him. If he has a reputation for honesty all

things become possible. A large part of big business dealings is carried on by negotiation. Transactions of the first magnitude result from discussions of industrial and financial leaders, dealing at arm's length, having no fixed terms or exact basis for measuring or valuing, depending upon mutual honesty to reach an agreement. In such a situation the least misrepresentation would be remembered; the overstatement of a single fact might result in the lifelong discredit of the man responsible.

Another quality closely akin to honesty is accuracy in representation and intent. The rule holds today in an even wider application than formerly that a man's word should be as good as his bond, involving the two qualities of honesty and accuracy. These qualities have a close relationship to the code of ethics; they are part of its very web.

Occasionally a man believed to be dishonest, or inclined to sharp practice, may seem to be successful, but almost invariably appearances are deceptive. It is likely to be found that his success is much less real than it seems, or certainly will be upon a lesser scale than if the same man were honest. As business is the biggest thing, unquestionably one of the biggest things in the world, so honesty is the biggest thing in business.

The man who would succeed should select an occupation with scrupulous care and persevere in his efforts, advancing by legitimate method and without wavering in his determination. When a man has decided upon a business or profession, it is wise to concentrate the full sum of his energies and never to scatter his activities. Invariably it is better to engage in one enterprise and have that well attended to than to participate in a number without concentrating upon any one of them. Many failures result from a lack of precaution in observing this plain principle of economics.

When investments come into question, it is advisable to pursue a somewhat different line of policy, distributing capital in such a way that no considerable part shall be left to a larger measure of hazard than must always exist in any investment. A man should not borrow money in order to



make an investment, or for any other purpose, unless he can determine with absolute certainty his ability to pay when due. The men whose success is a matter of common knowledge have persistently devoted their time and attention to development in one field of activity.

The United States has become financially and commercially the greatest of all nations. But we need not credit this position to our own ambition or ability. It has been literally thrust upon us by the trend of world events. A generous Providence has bestowed upon us unlimited advantages, so vast and beneficent that we scarcely appreciate our endowment.

To those of us who have considered the future of the United States by the light of world events it is a heartening sign to find increased interest and sympathy concerning the affairs and welfare of other nations. It would seem that we realize day by day the necessity of close relations with all other nations. That the world has reached a place in its evolution where every country must respond to the conditions in every other country is a fact apparent to any one who will give the matter consideration. Evidently our national isolation in world relations has about run its course, and we may look for a period of better understanding in which our business abroad will expand as our influence is exerted.

#### NECESSITY OF LAW

Consideration of business ethics and practices leads directly to a discussion of the needs for laws and their observance, which might be termed the basis of all ethics. The prosperity and welfare of the nation depend upon the enactment, administration and enforcement of law. It is the one essential distinction between primitive life and civilization. Unless we respect and maintain the law, every other institution fails.

Intelligent men understand this principle, although they may not have paused in the round of their affairs to discuss it consciously, even with themselves. There should be no need to emphasize such an evident truth, but the progress of events offers other evidence. The effect of the recent cruel and destructive war has been

demoralizing upon the minds of men. The daily toll of violence furnishes impressive proof that we need a new awakening of morality in the social body. The evil from these outbreaks and dastardly deeds extends beyond the victims, having an immediate and not inconsiderable influence upon the public outlook and the economic situation.

When law and order are defied and property and person endangered, the natural progress of business is interrupted to some extent. But there must be—and there already have been organized—new defenses against the lawless. Only with the existence and enforcement of sound and reasonable laws is civilization assured. To the extent that the application of law is neglected or inefficient, in the same proportion the tendency of the public inclines toward disorder. In the case of the vicious, destruction is substituted for disorder, and the, further these forces proceed, the greater their momentum.

One of the evident reasons for this grave situation, and possibly it is the weightiest of all reasons, arises from the attitude of mind that undertakes to decide which laws shall be observed and which flouted. In many cases the man who partakes of a little alcoholic stimulant believes the prohibition statutes to be too strict and proceeds to disregard them as time and opportunity permit. Another man, dealing in foreign merchandise, will assert that the tariff laws are badly conceived and administered to his special harm, and perhaps will seek means to evade them. A third man will find fault with the income or inheritance taxes, and we know that evasions are numerous. Labor unions insist that many laws on the statute books are directed against their members in a spirit of animosity rather than justice, and proceed to frustrate those laws wherever possible. Some capitalists believe that the Sherman law and similar measures are wrong in conception and application and we see a resulting effort to evade their mandates.

These illustrations might be multiplied almost without end. If it were my privilege to influence the opinion of any reader it would be in behalf of law and order. Without these bulwarks of our institutions, the Republic cannot exist.



# The American Theatre: A New Era Is Dawning

By WALTER PRICHARD EATON

Instructor, School of Journalism, Columbia University; lecturer on dramatic topics; author of "Plays and Players," "Queen Victoria" (a play with David Carb).

I HAVE been a constant theatregoer since childhood. Since the late 1890s I have been a critical one, and since 1902 a professional one. I have thus been a witness both to the older style of play and production (I saw Booth and Jefferson, and the Daly and Boston Museum stock companies), and to the enormous changes in our playhouse that the last quarter century has brought. I felt, like all youths in the 1890s, that we were entering then into a new creative era. I feel now that we have passed through one phase of it and are entering another, though a phase not so clearly marked or predictable. By "we" I mean especially the American theatre, though the creative outburst has been widespread.

Let me say at once that the "old-timers" who complain of a lack in present-day acting are quite right. We have few, if any, actors comparable with Booth, Jefferson, Warren, Irving, Terry, Coquelin, Bernhardt, Duse. Mrs. Fiske stands almost alone in amplitude of emotional power combined with technical virtuosity. And I think the explanation is simple. Great acting, so called, has always, so far as we can tell, belonged chiefly to those ages when the true creative spirit was absent from the drama. The age of Garrick and almost the entire nineteenth century were ages of great acting, and ages utterly barren, in the English-speaking world, of creative drama. The actors had to keep the torch alight, and they had to do it by playing over and over, till they won vast proficiency, the rôles most potent from the past and the new rôles written in imitation of them. In the 1890s a new era of real creative zest came into the English and then the American theatre. Authors began to write again, not "big" rôles for actors, but pictures of the life of the world today. The emphasis shifted from the player to

the play. I myself have watched the process. Shift the emphasis from a demand that the actor thrill us as Othello to a demand that he walk and talk convincingly like John S. Somes, "realtor," of Des Moines, Iowa, and you cease automatically to have great acting. Instead, you have a realistic drama which makes quite a different appeal to the theatregoer. We shall have no more Siddons and Garricks and Bernhardts till the kind of plays they acted is once more prevailingly popular. And there seems no immediate chance of that.

Francis Wilson, in Boston recently, revived Jefferson's play of "Rip Van Winkle." He could not breathe life into its creaking old joints. Few people ever considered the play under the spell of Jefferson's art. Besides, it was no worse than most other contemporary native dramas. But in 1925 you could think of little else but the play. I doubt if even Jefferson could have compelled forgetfulness, so greatly has the emphasis shifted.

The new creative drama was ushered in by various men. Ibsen really led the van. There were Pinero and Jones and Shaw before 1900. How we debated Shaw back in the later 1890s, when Mansfield first acted him! Even Norman Hapgood, then a leader of the younger critics, complained that "Candida" (as yet seen only in print) could never succeed on the stage. It was not a play! As early as 1893, I think, Herne's "Shore Acres" struck a new note in our native drama, and by the new century Clyde Fitch was in full tide of productivity, enraging William Winter, but slowly and surely compelling American taste to relish veracious pictures of American life. The thoroughgoing realism, especially the naturalism, of the Continent and the Théâtre Libre, never really struck us, to be sure. As a people we like our fun too well, and we do not carry logic too far in

the playhouse. There has never been, in America, an organized campaign against theatrical hokum or in favor of a school of play writing. Our advance has come more or less unconsciously, by a gradual yielding of our native comedy-drama to the prevailing modes of realistic representation and a gradual increase in the demand of our audiences for recognizable pictures of themselves. However, if our drama still lags behind that of Europe—as it certainly does—it is nevertheless true that we also since 1900 have shared in the creative zest of the modern theatre. There have been frequent comments of late on the large number of foreign plays produced in New York. But those who complain quite neglect to note that there has been a corresponding increase in native plays, and that whereas in 1926 foreign plays are produced because we are averse to see and enjoy the world's best, a quarter of a century ago they were most often produced because there was nothing else. In 1900, at least, 75 or 80 per cent. of all new plays were either English or adapted from other languages. A decade or two before that date an American play was

almost a curiosity. Today (New Year's, 1926), there are twenty-four native plays on Broadway and only seventeen foreign. As three of these foreign plays are by Shakespeare, one by Sheridan, two by Shaw and one by Ibsen (all of them in a sense classic revivals), the proportion of native drama is actually 24 to 10. Even a majority of the musical comedies and reviews are home-made.

Nobody who knows the true conditions can doubt that we could fill all our theatres with native work if we had to. It would not all be good work, but most of it would be passable, would show some real facility for dramatic construction. Such a change in twenty-five years is actually astonishing, almost revolutionary. It indicates, surely, a real creative energy at work on the problem of making theatrical entertainment out of native material.

I said earlier that we have now passed into a second phase of this creative zest, and that the outcome of this second phase is harder to predict than was the first. Let me explain. In 1900, when the social dramas of Ibsen were crashing into our theatre, when Pinero and Jones were on



Sketch of the theatre at Yale University, in which, when completed, the Department of Drama, under the direction of Professor George Pierce Baker, will carry on its work. The theatre is the gift of Edward S. Harkness. (Blackall, Clapp & Whittemore, architects.)

the crest, when Fitch was beginning to pin Fifth Avenue butterflies up for inspection, realism was everywhere having its day, and with realism the passion of reform. It was obvious that our better dramatists would work to improve native drama by making it more realistic and by deepening its social content. That is exactly what happened. Before the first decade of the century had passed Eugene Walter had written "The Easiest Way"—social realism; William Vaughn Moody had written "The Great Divide"—frontier melodrama (still seen in the movies) raised to spiritual significance; and with varying degrees of artistic success Sheldon was writing "Salvation Nell" and "The Boss," Charles Klein was having a fling at the trusts in "The Lion and the Mouse," and even G. M. Cohan was changing the style of farce by giving it superficial verisimilitude.

But just as realism never was carried to the extremes here that it reached in Europe, so it ran its course quicker here, also. (To be sure, it started later.) It ran its course here, indeed, before we had produced any plays, perhaps, of enduring value. At any rate, it has now yielded as a dominant style to the new spirit of the age since the war, which is intensely individualistic instead of social, which is restless, experimental, disillusioned, and does not care to be pinned down to the logic of realism or the duty of reform. Eugene O'Neill, beginning as a realist touched with poetry, has become poet, satirist ("The Hairy Ape" is perhaps our best satire), experimenter in many forms, creative but restless and uncertain of his direction. Many of our humorists, such as George Kaufmann, play cleverly and satirically with the surface of life on a framework of hokum, making no longer any effort to get at the fundamental reali-

ties. George Kelly, to be sure, works in the realistic medium. But Philip Barry ("In a Garden") is seeking after psychological subtleties and consciously wrought stylistic prose—Pirandello mated to a comedy of manners. Nearly all the dramatists of any consequence are pursuing individual experiments, like their brothers the scene designers and the directors of the few independent and serious theatres. As

in England a type of realistic social drama developed from Robertson to Galsworthy, and then apparently stopped, so here our American local comedy, typified by the farces of Charley Hoyt, developed through greater realism and deeper social purpose into the plays of Fitch, George Ade, Eugene Walter, Craven, Moody, even the earlier Eugene O'Neill—and stopped. That period seems more or less definitely closed. We are feeling now for a new style, a new mood; our drama is transitional and experimental, like that in most of the rest of the world.



GEORGE PIERCE BAKER  
Formerly professor at Harvard,  
who has become Director of the  
Department of Drama at Yale  
University

Indeed, I do not feel at all sure myself that our creative zest in the theatre is any longer most marked in the field of dramatic authorship. Rather I think it is now most marked in play production—the synthesis of various forces into a stage effect; and especially in the field of theatrical organization. In this latter field, at any rate, is where the greatest need of the present lies.

That may require explanation. First, bear in mind that the organization of the playhouse is always a determining factor in the history of the drama, because it limits or expands the opportunities of the artists and authors, especially as it affects the audiences they work for. Twenty-five years ago the American theatre stretched across the continent. There were no movies, no radios, no motor cars. Theatregoing



MINNIE MADDERN FISKE  
Leading American actress

was a universal pastime, and for 25 cents you could sit in the gallery and see the best our stage had to offer. A successful play in New York was assured of a year or two years of equally prosperous business on the road. First the theatrical syndicate of unfragrant memory reduced local theatre managers to the status of janitors and began the process of making the outside public suspicious. Then the movies grew to vast proportions, coupled with other counter-attractions. Galleries were emptied. Their former patrons could now sit downstairs at a movie for the same price. The movies, too, no doubt really better satisfied the desires of the more

ignorant. At length a new generation has grown up of young men and women largely reared on movies and newspaper comic strips, to whom the theatre means little or nothing. They will go to the Follies or some other widely advertised and (they hope) risqué musical show, but that is all. Their elders, too, have to a large extent lost the theatre habit. Today the theatres outside of New York are getting shabby and forlorn, and they exist by virtue of noisy musical comedies, Al Jolson, and the like. The American theatre, which a generation ago meant just that, now means the New York theatre.

The result is, of course, that we write and produce now entirely for the sophisticated taste of Manhattan, which accounts for the present excesses of sensuality and bad taste in our theatre, as well as for its catholicity of experiment and its sharp alertness. The first quarter of the century has brought about a curious paradox—we have developed our capacities to write and especially to costume and mount and produce, to a point never before reached in our theatre; and at the same time our audiences for what we write and produce have been drastically curtailed. Outside of New York our audiences for the more advanced stagecraft, or for the finer or subtler plays, have been reduced, in fact, to a point where a road tour cannot hope to be profitable.

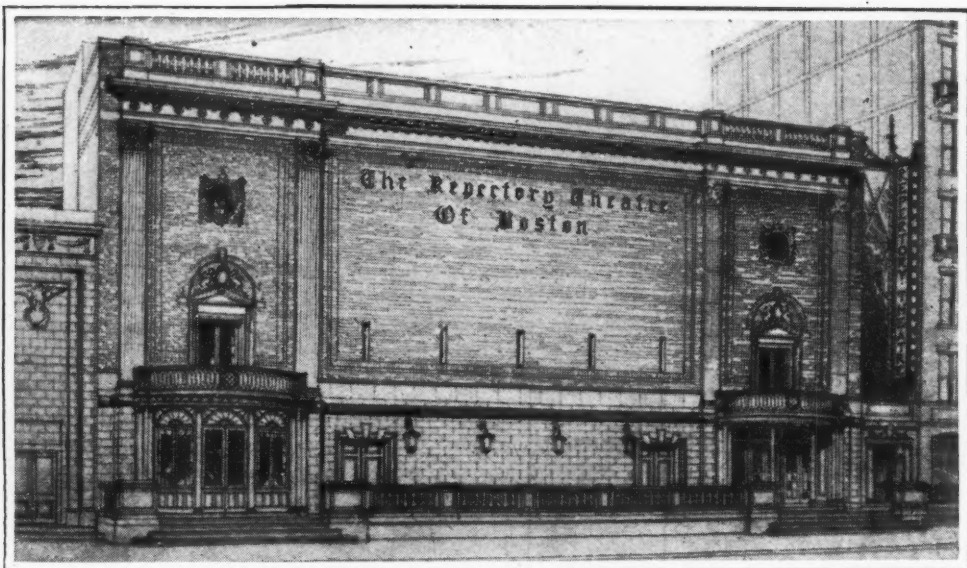
Now, we might well despair over such a situation were it not for the fact that the professional theatre, as it has always



Times Wide World Photos

John Drew, the veteran American actor (left), photographed with President Coolidge





Facade of the recently opened Repertory Theatre of Boston, the first institution of its kind that has been exempted from State and city taxes. (J. William Beal & Sons, architects.)

been organized, and which, of course, depends for its existence solely on an appeal to large numbers of people, is not the only possible theatre; it may well be, not even the most desirable theatre; and this fact we have been learning during the past two decades. I am not sure but that this lesson is going to prove the most important feature of the theatrical history of our times.

New York, which has too many rather than too few theatres and plays, is but little aware either of the sad condition of popular taste among the masses of the country, or of the widespread and vital awakening of theatrical effort among minority groups through the country. The spoken drama, as a serious art form, intellectually and spiritually nourishing, has almost perished in the professional theatre outside New York, due in large measure to the competition of the movies and the debasement of taste caused by the influx of a new generation who come, in myriad cases, from homes without background. Thus in a sense the problem is the same as that of the great high schools in the industrial cities. But, at the same time, minority groups everywhere, capable of enjoying the spoken drama but not numerous enough to support it in the playhouse of commerce,

have waked to a realization that they themselves can produce it; that the theatre can be kept alive, and very much alive, by amateur effort. Time, I think, will more and more credit a great share in this awakening to Professor George Pierce Baker, formerly of Harvard, who first among American educators made the living playhouse a subject for study, and educated through the exercise and training of the creative dramatic instincts of his pupils. His work has spread all over the land till it would not be at all amiss to devote an entire article just to this one phase of our theatrical development during the past two decades.

The results of such teaching, in schools as well as colleges, have been many and varied, but primarily the great result has been to instil a sense of artistic discipline, of esthetic seriousness, into amateur productions, thus lifting them quite out of the plane where they used to dwell, until today there are from five hundred to a thousand Little Theatre groups functioning all across the land, supplying a real creative outlet to those participating in the plays, and genuine theatrical pleasure to the audiences attending, a pleasure the professional theatre can, in only too many instances, no longer furnish.



In certain instances, as in North Carolina, local plays have resulted of considerable merit in themselves, and of very great merit in so far as they bring art closely and intimately into the lives of people who attend. In other places, the result has been a gradual expansion of the amateur work until it so far enlisted the interest of the entire community that the community built a theatre and now looks to this theatre for its dramatic fare. That is the case in Santa Barbara and in Pasadena. In the latter city the theatre cost several hundred thousand dollars, and the amateurs of the town, under a paid director, mount over twenty plays a year, and play each one for a week or more. These plays, too, are carefully chosen to meet various needs, popular works alternating with classics and with new, experimental drama. In short, a real theatre.

Elsewhere the Little Theatres have met various problems in various ways. Most of them, no doubt, do not as yet reach any great number of people, but this number increases yearly, as do the number of theatres and the number of men and women who, by taking active part in the plays, learn the joy of artistic self-expression. A Little Theatre group I recently encountered in a midland city had fifty subscribers a year ago. This year it started with 300, and was giving "Jane Clegg" as its first bill, to be followed by "The Devil's Disciple." A Little Theatre just opened in a remodeled stable in Baltimore began with a local review, something like "The Grand Street Follies," and it proved so popular that it is still running as I write, more than a month later! Little Theatres in Texas, New Orleans and elsewhere have had no trouble in raising large sums to build themselves permanent and well-equipped playhouses.

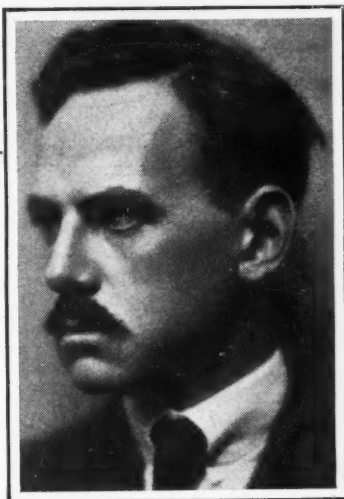
All this would be without great significance, perhaps, were it not for the fact

that it has taken place while the professional theatre was breaking down. The majority of potential American theatre-goers today have not the desire—and we cannot help feeling neither the taste nor the intelligence—to support the spoken drama in its best estate. That is a price we are paying for our industrial and mechanical civilization. But the minority are rallying from a deep instinct to save

and preserve the spoken drama in its best estate. Its future, so far as America as a whole is concerned, I cannot help feeling is in their hands. On their efforts depends the future of the American theatre.

Nobody, I suppose, desires to see an amateur stage only, or a stage appealing no longer to the masses, but only to the educated minority. Nor do I think that such a condition will permanently prevail. I think that probably the amateur movement will at first result in the growth of more and more community theatres like those on the Pacific Coast, and then in

the gradual professionalizing of their artistic staffs. But these new theatres will be conducted according to an entirely different ideal from the present professional playhouse. They will not be conducted for gain, but for community service. They will not be controlled by a few vulgar and ignorant shopkeepers in New York, but by the best minds of the community. They will be objects of local pride. They will give plays at stated intervals as part of the public school curriculum. They will be as cheaply entered as the better movie houses, and within their portals will be found ten thousand times as much beauty and spiritual nourishment. They will be more vitally a part of the community life than the art museum or the public library, but will have something of the dignity and tradition of those institutions.



EUGENE O'NEILL

Generally recognized as the most original dramatist so far produced by America



The Hall of Fame for Great Americans, New York University, New York City. Although literature is represented by a considerable number of writers, including novelists, no American who has attained eminence as a dramatist has yet found a place among those elected

Is this a dream? I do not think so. It seems to me not only possible but probable. Certainly the amateurs of the country, aided by the colleges, have accomplished so much theatrically in the past fifteen years that we are safe in predicting more in the future. If they set their hands intelligently to the task of organizing the theatre along new lines, lines of art and service, not commercial exploitation, the next decade, even, will show important advances. It is along some such lines, at any rate, that I look for the most interesting developments of our creative zest in the next few years. I feel that some such a reorganization of our theatre, a consolidation of the minority, an education of the local publics, is far more needed just now than great American plays or great American actors; and because it is so needed I am inclined to believe that our creative energy will turn into those channels.

Let me in conclusion say a word about the Theatre Guild. The Theatre Guild really started as a group of raw amateurs. I will even confess that some of their early amateur efforts pleased me more than some of their later professional ones! They organized and built up their audiences; they did what plays interested them as well as they knew how, and rallied around them the minority who could and would appreciate. This minority grew and grew, till they could build themselves a handsome theatre. All this, to be sure, they did in New York—a very large city. But there are other large cities in America—a great many of them. There are other intelligent minorities. So, after all, I think the place of the Theatre Guild in the history of these past two decades in our playhouse is that of a signboard, a finger, pointing to the road the future must take if we do not want a nation given over to "Artists and Models" and the drivel of the movies.



# France's Responsibility for the World War

## I.

### A Frenchman Lays Blame on France, Russia and England

By GEORGES DEMARTIAL

Eminent French publicist and exponent of the "revisionist" theory of war responsibility; author of "La Guerre de 1914: Comment on mobilisa les consciences."

**D**URING the World War one of my friends said to me, "What is the use of your trying to establish the truth about the origins of the war? No one could ever doubt that if France was involved it was because she took sides with Russia in order to settle accounts with Germany. The alleged aggression of Germany was the consequence, not the cause, of our entrance into the war. Those who fail to see this do not want to see it. They will close their ears to all proofs, as they closed them to the voice of both their reason and their conscience. You are losing your time."

My friend was only partly right. It is true that simple intuition was enough to enable us to reject the Government's slogan of Germany's aggression. But the great majority of the French people were not in the plot; they were dupes. The history of nations is the history of their sufferings, and the history of their sufferings is the history of their credulity. Not without reason did Viviani and Clemenceau, who believed neither in God nor devil, call this war a crusade. It was marked by all the stupid and bloody mysticism of a crusade.

It may seem surprising, at a time when man is learning how to fly through the air and to navigate beneath the seas, that he should show so little discernment. The fact is, however, that the progress of reason is infinitely slower than that of industrial development. Man had already made the most marvelous discoveries in the period of star and animal worship. These glasses, without which I could neither read nor write a word, were invented during the intellectual darkness of the Middle Ages.

We are a thousand times better armed for war than the ancient Greeks. Do we know how to avoid war a thousand times better?

Since so many French people were sincerely deluded regarding the origins of the war, it was a duty to strive to undeceive them; a duty all the more urgent because the Government and its propaganda gave capital importance to the question of responsibility. "Germany," we were told, "in attacking Europe, which desired only to live in peace, with the object of enslaving it, thereby became the enemy of the human race. This war, therefore, cannot end like other wars, by a disputed peace. We will judge the monster without debate or controversy; then we will convict him and inflict on him such penalties as will make him powerless to do any further mischief." Not a day went by without this thesis being defended by some large newspaper, usually under the signature of a member of the French Academy. As Germany, under these conditions, was bound to continue the struggle to her last breath; as she showed an amazing power of resistance and as every day of war cost more human lives and money than a whole war in the past, this meant the ruin of France as well as that of Germany.

There was another and stronger motive—to struggle against falsehood, for silence would have seemed approval. In the second year of the war, therefore, a little group of Frenchmen came together, of the most diverse stations of life and opinions; side by side one saw a Marquis, brother-in-law of Prince Roland Bonaparte—a well-known militant workman, a Secretary of the Metal Federation, an illustrious

political economist, now a professor in the Collège de France. Not in the columns of the press, where the censorship would have prohibited the expression of their views, but in little private meetings these modern heretics declared that the Government's version was an outrage to good sense and a contradiction of indisputable facts. I, on my own part, said: "It is neither probable nor true that Germany is alone responsible for this war; not probable because, to quote a statement by Bernard Shaw, she had obviously everything to lose and nothing to gain by going to war, while her adversaries needed war—one to seize Constantinople, another to regain Alsace and a third to preserve her empire of the seas. Not true, because by every evidence it was Russia, who, by mobilizing against Germany without the shadow of a reason and knowing that it meant war, was the chief culprit."

We must do the Government of France the justice to admit that it did not molest us seriously. Our meetings were merely forbidden. We were not tarred and feathered.

#### EVIDENCE YIELDED BY ARCHIVES

The publication of documents in the Russian, German and Austrian archives opened a second period. Thousands of authentic documents were published which otherwise would never have seen the light of day or not till a century had elapsed. The officials, showing no lack of audacity, picked out a few sentences and pretended to see therein a confirmation of the innocence of the Entente. What the documents really confirmed was the falseness and absurdity of the myth that Germany alone was responsible for the war. Hence we saw men entering into the controversy who up to that time had taken no part in it and who admitted with full sincerity that that myth was exploded.

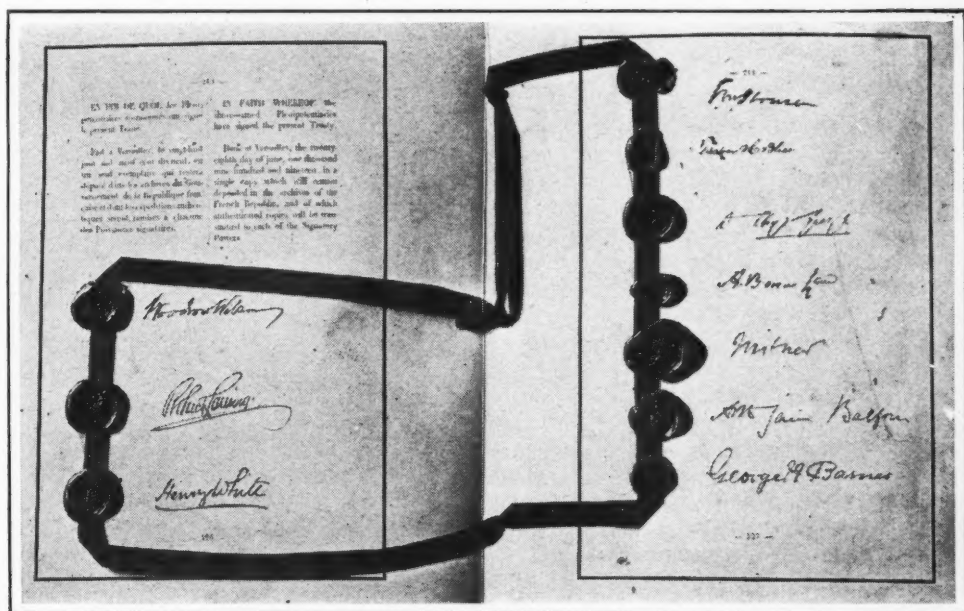
M. Fabre-Luce, formerly a brilliant student of the School of Political Sciences, is the son of one of the chief directors of the largest establishments of French credit and a brother-in-law of M. de Margerie, Ambassador in Berlin. He belongs, therefore, to the world of high finance and high diplomacy, which has no reputation for idealism. In 1924, however, he published

a book called "La Victoire" ("Victory"), largely devoted to an investigation of the truth regarding war origins. We owe him this formula: "The Central Empires made the gestures which made war possible. The Entente made those which made it necessary."

M. Victor Marguerite, a most eminent man of letters, had already showed his taste for history by writing a "History of the War of 1870," and, under the general title of "An Epoch," four historical novels about that war and the Commune. His father had been killed at the head of his cavalry brigade in the memorable charge which forced from the lips of Emperor William the famous exclamation, "The brave fellows!" In 1919 he published "Au bord du gouffre" ("At the Brink of the Abyss") wherein he showed that our Generals have no right to claim the glory of victory. At the beginning of 1925 he published "Les criminels," wherein he showed that our statesmen have also no right to claim innocence for the war. Thanks to him, the whole question of war origins, for it goes back to 1870, was brought before the general public by a large publishing house.

At the same period M. Renouvin published "Les origines immédiates de la guerre" ("The Immediate Causes of the War"). Trained to scientific methods, being a Professor of History, he has also special facilities for documentation in his capacity as Service Director of the Bibliothèque de la guerre (War Library), for to obtain one of his hundred thousand volumes he has only to press an electric button with the one hand which the war left him. When the "Vergleichende Geschichtstabellen" appeared ("Comparative Historical Tables" prepared by the former Kaiser) he was charged, together with one of his colleagues, to draw up a refutation. The work was preceded by an introduction by M. Poincaré. The "Société de l'histoire de la guerre" (Society of War History), which has a semi-official character, established for M. Renouvin at the Sorbonne a Chair in War History and his book is only one of his courses prepared for publication. No one, therefore, can accuse him of incompetence or suspect him of "playing the game of the Germans," as M. Poincaré





The first two pages of signatures to the Versailles Treaty. The signatures in order are those of Woodrow Wilson, Robert Lansing, Henry White, E. M. House, Tasker H. Bliss, D. Lloyd George, A. Bonar Law, Milner, Arthur James Balfour and George H. Barnes

expresses it. And yet, as he could not bring himself to endorse false documents, false dates and false statements, he was led, so far as material facts are concerned, to depart from the official version at almost every point, especially on the important question of mobilizations—a departure over which, as was natural for a man in his position, he endeavored to cast a pious veil, but which a simple comparison with the official documents makes absolutely clear. This example of professional conscience is all the more honorable because French professors generally have shown much less of it, both during and after the war. Let the reader compare the work of M. Renouvin with the book (a reproduction of a report to the Senate) which M. Bourgeois, Professor of Modern History at the Sorbonne, published under the title "The Origins and Responsibilities of the World War" and then draw his own conclusion.

Whether or not this be due to the book of M. Renouvin, M. Poincaré himself has betrayed signs of a desire to retreat. While previously representing Germany as having spurred Austria on against Serbia in order to precipitate the European war and to be

able to make a surprise attack on France, he admits today, in an article published in Foreign Affairs of New York, that the Central Powers may not have planned the war and that they may only have committed the folly of thinking that Russia would allow Serbia to be destroyed. As Russia, of course, could not abandon Serbia, she mobilized first because her mobilization machinery was slower than that of the other nations involved. The real culprit, therefore, according to Poincaré, would be the German military staff, who allegedly used this precautionary measure as a pretext to obtain from the German Government the declaration of war.

Thus the vital importance of Russia's mobilization in the question of war origins is again confirmed. No longer being able to deny that that mobilization contributed materially to the precipitation of the war, M. Poincaré declares that it should not have precipitated it because it was inoffensive and justified. This new version is almost as bewildering as the first. The Russian Government was the first to know that the mobilization of the Russian Army would not only provoke the mobilization of Germany but would also precipitate



war, for Germany, because of strategic reasons which a child could comprehend, could not mobilize without attacking. Germany cannot be blamed for foolishness in thinking that Russia would not reply to the Austrian note to Serbia by precipitating a general European war. Any sane and honest person would have thought the same. The mobilization of Russia was justified neither by the attitude of Austria, who did not aim at the destruction of Serbia but desired only to obtain from her assurances that she would cease acts that threatened Austria's own existence; nor was the mobilization justified by the attitude of Germany, who recoiled when she saw the spectre of war rise up before her. The motives of Russia are to be sought elsewhere. The proof that the Russian mobilization was neither inoffensive nor justified is seen in the fact that the Entente Governments—quorum Poincaré magna pars fuit—multiplied lies and forgeries with the sole object of hiding from their respective peoples its true character and contributing causes.

We are therefore convinced that we can no more accept the thesis of divided responsibility than we can accept that of the exclusive responsibility of Germany. We should like to be able to support the former view, which is that of M. Fabre-Luce and of M. Renouvin. It is also the view held by M. Margueritte, although he shows much greater severity toward the Entente than the two other scholars mentioned. We are told that it would be good policy to adopt this view. But we note the reply of the brilliant young American scholar, Professor Harry Elmer Barnes, viz, that as we have no political axe to grind we see no advantage in substituting a partial truth for what we believe to be the whole truth. The fact that such a concession would be useless makes us all the less favorably disposed toward it. Aside from exceptions so insignificant that they only confirm the rule, newspaper publishers as a whole refuse to discuss the question of war responsibilities. They know that the official version is untenable and they do not want to admit it, for having previously defended this version they would have to admit further that they had played the rôle of tricksters in the past. Their read-

ers do not know that the question of war responsibilities exists and they are as ignorant as the Patagonians of the true causes of the gigantic event which took place before their very eyes. There is here no difference between the conservative press and the so-called radical press. The "sacred union" against truth continues in force and the order of the day is silence.

We need even less to dwell on the extraordinary argument that to exonerate the German Government of 1914 is a wrong to the German Republic. If, to make the Germans republicans, we must make them believe that the Imperial Government caused the war, then they are unworthy of the name of republicans.

#### GERMANY'S ADMISSION OF GUILT

M. Margueritte had an excellent idea last Summer when he distributed and had signed by 102 people, under the name of "An Appeal to Our Consciences," a protest against the famous article of the Versailles Treaty by means of which, under threat of renewing the war, the Allies forced Germany to admit that she alone was responsible for the war and that she precipitated it by her aggression. Among the signers of this protest were the daughter and the grandson of the former President of the republic, M. Loubet; the sons of Rostand, eminent writers; a number of high-ranking professors and five retired Generals. This protest does not prejudice the question whether Germany is alone responsible for the war, or only more or less responsible. It is directed only against the method used in forcing her to admit it. The protest was signed on one hand by people who disapprove the procedure, though they believe in Germany's responsibility, and on the other hand, by those who not only disapprove the procedure but consider that Germany is wholly innocent. In the same way thirty years ago the revision of the Dreyfus case was demanded not only by people convinced of the injustice of his conviction but also by those who thought him guilty but who were indignant at the way in which the trial had been conducted. The conspiracy of silence stifled this expression of public opinion as it stifled all others.

What influence can the Locarno treaties have on the case of war responsibilities? The situation is not dissimilar from that which prevailed at the time when the Dreyfus case was undergoing revision. Let us recall the circumstances. Captain Dreyfus in 1894 was sentenced to deportation by a military court on the charge of having delivered military documents to a foreign power. It was learned, on the one hand, that the paper called the "Bordereau" ("memo-randum"), which had led to the charge against him, was not in his handwriting, and on the other hand that the conviction had been brought about by a document in which appeared the initial D and which, unknown to Dreyfus and his counsel, had been presented to the military court as referring to Dreyfus when this was not the case; finally that the "Bordereau" was in the handwriting of another officer, Esterhazy, a man who was crushed by debt, and who furthermore had written to his mistress that he would like to see the Germans sack Paris. Esterhazy, brought before a military court at the beginning of 1898, was nevertheless acquitted and the famous writer, Zola, who accused the court of having acquitted Esterhazy under special orders, was sentenced to prison. The five war Ministers who had followed one another in office since 1894 had all proclaimed their conviction of the guilt of Dreyfus amid the applause of the Chamber of Deputies. In August, 1898, it was discovered that a certain document presented at the Esterhazy trial and which accused Dreyfus, had been forged by Colonel Henry, Chief of the Intelligence division of the General Staff. Henry was arrested. He committed suicide by cutting his throat. Then Dreyfus was brought back and made to appear before a new military court. He was again convicted. The Government at once pardoned him. But the case was not yet ended. Dreyfus had expressly declared that he would continue to work for the revision of his case. The discovery of other forgeries, unknown at the time of his second conviction, made it possible to bring the case before the Court of Cassation, which, in 1906, solemnly proclaimed Dreyfus's innocence. The transfer of Zola's body to the Pantheon in 1908 was the last act of the tragedy, which had brought France to the brink of

civil war. Six years later the Ministry of Foreign Affairs concocted patriotic forgeries against the Boche, as the Ministry of War had done against the Jew.

The case of Germany has now reached the period of grace. Before going to Locarno, Germany publicly declared that she did not intend thereby to confirm the admission which had been wrung from her at Versailles. The allied powers evaded the issue by replying that that question had nothing to do with the security pact about to be discussed at Locarno. As a matter of fact, the Locarno pacts ended Germany's ostracism. Those pacts are everywhere considered as an act of reconciliation. The King of England, in his message of Dec. 22, 1925, hailed them as "the beginning of friendly cooperation." Would such be the case when the sufferings of war are still so acute among so many nations if it were really believed that Germany alone willed the war, alone prepared it, alone precipitated it with the object of subjugating and enslaving a peaceful Europe? Certainly not. The Locarno pacts mean the tacit abandonment of Article 231 of the Versailles Treaty, as the pardon of Dreyfus had meant the tacit admission of his innocence.

#### CASE FOR GERMANY MUST BE REOPENED

Now, the same reasons which made it impossible for us to be satisfied with the pardon of Dreyfus make it similarly impossible for us to be satisfied with the Locarno compacts. Today, as then, the real case is that against human malevolence and stupidity. The only difference is that then these ignoble qualities were directed against a man, whereas today they are directed against a whole people. Just as justice was avenged only when the decree of the Court of Cassation had overthrown the edifice of lies and forgeries through which the authors of the conviction of Dreyfus hoped to keep him imprisoned in a convict colony for a crime committed by Esterhazy, so justice will never be avenged today until a solemn revision of the Versailles Treaty overthrows the edifice of lies and forgeries on the basis of which the Entente powers accused Germany of having precipitated a war of which they themselves were the real authors.

But similarly, also, as the proclamation of the innocence of Dreyfus did not mean that the Jews were better than the Christians, so the exoneration of Germany will not mean that the Germans are better than the Russians, the French and English. Since men are nearly everywhere the same, it is even possible that the Germans, had they been in the place of the Allies, would have acted as they acted. But is that a reason for condemning the Germans instead of the Allies?

It is not, then, in the special interest of Germany that we must labor, any more than the Catholics and the Freethinkers who demanded the revision of the Dreyfus case did so in his interest or in that of his coreligionaries. Colonel Picquart, who started the ball of truth rolling, was an anti-Semite. Justice was demanded for Dreyfus in the interest of all French citizens. Similarly, we must ask justice for Germany in the interest of all nations, for justice is their common treasure, every one of them being exposed to the peril of exploitation by fanatic neighbors or to that of being deceived by their own Government. If it were recognized by an international committee of investigation that the Russian and French Governments, to drag their respective peoples into the war, blinded them to the real issues, that their "diplomatic books" are as riddled with forgeries as a sieve, that almost all other Governments associated themselves with these frauds, that the so-called War of Righteousness was the greatest piece of hypocrisy ever seen or undertaken, then the mere pronouncement of the word "war" would henceforth awaken in all peoples of the world the fear of being as absurdly credulous as in this instance, and they would not allow their Governments to plunge them into war against each other as easily as before. In short, revision of the Versailles Treaty can only inspire in the mocked and deluded nations of Europe a salutary distrust of Governments, and that is why we must demand it.

#### THE "HYPOCRITES" OF GENEVA

But, it may be said, does not the League of Nations exist to prevent war? A humorous suggestion! If war becomes of rarer occurrence it will be because war

itself has become too cruel and devastating, because of fear of aerial warfare and of the consequences of failure, and not because of the hypocrites of Geneva. France was represented there by Viviani, who said of war that, "It was the final and decisive clash of the dark powers of evil with the radiant powers of good." England was represented there by Lord Balfour, who said: "It was the war of Heaven against Hell." The men who represent the different peoples there today are hardly less biased. Imagine the butchers of St. Bartholomew at the head of a League of Religions! I will believe in the League of Nations when it has painted on the walls of the Assembly hall a picture representing the judges of Versailles crouching over Germany, each with an upraised dagger in his hand and with the following inscription below: "Admit that you are the sole cause of the war or we will finish you off."

Such is the present aspect of the question of war responsibilities in France. If one compare it to what it was at the close of the war, one can see progress. Any one who at that time contested the view that Germany was alone responsible for the war, was considered crazy. None today can continue to maintain that Germany was alone responsible; any one who attempted to do so would be refuted by the official and scientific data contained in the book by M. Renouvin.

Compared to other nations, France seems to lag furthest behind upon the path of truth. It is true that the English made a Lord of Mr. Asquith, who, in his "Genesis of the War," showed himself to be as cynical as M. Poincaré in his "Origins of the War," without having Poincaré's excuse of haling from Lorraine. But Morel was elected three times to the House of Commons and the Labor Party has long and repeatedly repudiated the Government's lie. It is also true that the American Ambassadors continue to celebrate here in Paris, with solemn faces, the war "for the salvation of democracy." But La Follette was triumphantly re-elected to the Senate, before which body Senator Owen laid the assembled documents covering the entire case of war responsibilities. In France the political world refuses absolutely to change its attitude on the ques-

tion and, if one wishes to hear M. Herriot and M. Painlevé talk exactly like M. Poincaré and M. Millerand, one has only to broach this topic. In England and the United States there has appeared a whole constellation of eminent professors who have devoted themselves to studying this subject. In France only one has appeared. The historical Society of War, in order to prove its interest in the question, decided to publish the work of a foreign historian. It chose Grelling! Very few people, even among the best-intentioned authors, are masters of the subject.

In short, although the weapon of silence is not the specific characteristic of the French press, in no other country has pub-

lic opinion been kept in such deep ignorance as in France. Were it not for the German magazine "Kriegsschuldfrage" we would be out of touch with the whole subject, even with the articles published by M. Poincaré in the United States.

Everything considered, the Entente propaganda has been victorious in all countries. "Do you think," asked Candide, "that men have always massacred one another as they do today? That they have always been liars, frauds, traitors, fanatics, hypocrites and fools?" "Do you think," replied Martin, "that hawks have always eaten pigeons when they caught them?" Let us arm ourselves with patience.

## II.

### A Former American Ambassador Defends the French

By JAMES W. GERARD

Former United States Ambassador to Germany

THE article of M. Demartial, published in the foregoing pages, does not present any evidence to controvert the German admission in the Treaty of Versailles and the generally accepted idea that the German Government of 1914 must bear the responsibility for the World War. It states that certain Frenchmen do not believe in the war-guilt of Germany. It is interesting to note that in France, even in the second year of the war, a Marquis, with the additional distinction of being a brother-in-law of Prince Roland Bonaparte, whoever he is, a militant workman and an economist agreed, to quote M. Demartial, that "the Government version outraged good sense and was contrary to certain facts." Nor does the fact that a certain writer is cited by M. Demartial as agreeing with the militant workman, who evidently was not fighting for his country, with the Marquis (brother-in-law of a Prince) and the economist, add anything to the weight of M. Demartial's case.

Then, too, it certainly is what logicians call a non sequitur, to state that because an injustice was done in the Dreyfus case the German Government is not responsible

for the initiation of the war. The Dreyfus case has no more to do with the responsibility for the war than the trial of Socrates for the divorce of Katharine of Aragon. It may be that the Treaty of Versailles is wrong in placing responsibility on the Germans, but this does not follow from any argument advanced by M. Demartial.

The guilt for the war should not be placed on the German people. Even a democratic Government like ours could quite easily so involve us in a foreign dispute that war would not only be inevitable, but seem even necessary and proper, in the circumstances of the particular case.

The responsibility for the World War is twofold, general and particular. The general responsibility belongs to Europe—to Europe armed—to units of Europe seeking constantly new territory under the old delusion that an accession of territory, even containing a hostile population, meant wealth and power; to units of Europe forming the Triple Alliance; to other units forming the Russo-French Alliance and the Anglo-French Entente; to units making Balkan leagues. To Europe an armed camp, the units constantly vying in in-



crease of armament and deadliness of arms, in construction of strategic railways; to constant rumors of war, so that war seemed always impending somewhere, always to be feared, always to be expected. In this general responsibility all Europe must share. The constant talk of war in the end brings war—a lesson to us. If we must prepare to defend ourselves, let us do so quietly: not in announcing that we prepare against any particular nation.

It was Germany that declared war, and the particular responsibility for that declaration must rest upon the German Great General Staff. The German lower classes, the poor people—cannon fodder—had no deliberate wish for war. In 1911, when war threatened because of the incidents at Agadir, a great gathering of the plain people in the Tempelhofer Feld raised their hands in protest against war. In 1914 they had no time to protest. They were hurried, pitched into war.

#### NUREMBERG STORY

If there had been any delay, any discussion of war, as in 1911, I am satisfied that war could have been averted; the Great General Staff knew this and desired an immediate declaration of war by the Emperor. According to the Constitution of the German Empire, however, an offensive war could not be declared by the Emperor alone; but the Emperor alone could declare a defensive war: hence it was first proclaimed that French fliers had attacked Nuremberg and that French troops had crossed the Belgian frontier, in order both to justify a declaration of war by the Emperor alone and the violation of Belgium's neutrality. No shred of proof has ever been advanced to justify the Nuremberg story, and in the letter written to President Wilson, in my presence, in pencil, on telegraph blanks, on Aug. 10, 1914, the Emperor wrote that the neutrality of Belgium was violated for strategical reasons.

It was at this same interview that the Emperor, when I suggested to him that his troops would be in Paris in three weeks and that he then would be in a position to dictate peace, said: "No, the coming in of the English has changed the whole situation. An obstinate race, they will never stop fighting." Plainly showing that the

entrance of England into the war had not been expected.

The Emperor was long pestered by the Staff, by the war party, by the nobles, to commence war; but it was not until the Zabern affair had shown the growing movement in Germany against the military system of the Hohenzollerns, until he himself had been personally insulted by the Social Democrats at the close of the Reichstag session, that he consented to sign the declaration of war. Even then, fearing to gamble his throne and fortunes on the issue of the contest he at the last moment hesitated. Von Gwinner, head of the great Deutsche Bank, told me shortly after the outbreak of war that the officers of the Great General Staff appeared before the Emperor and said that they would break their swords over their knees if he did not sign.

Von Gwinner himself, and others, captains of industry, were not for war. They acquiesced, comforting themselves with the dream of German success, and after the declaration of war they loyally supported their Government, unlike, apparently, the Marquis, the militant workman and the economist of M. Demartial's acquaintance.

German industry in 1914 was in a fair way to win all the gold in the world. What madness then to risk all in the die of war!

Wars come from fear, and because of fear the Germans allowed the military caste, incarnated in the Great General Staff, to rule their policy and their lives. That fear dates from the Thirty Years' War, when Germany, ravaged by hostile armies, became a waste for wild beasts, when the population fell from 24,000,000 to 4,000,000, when polygamy, even for priests, was permitted in the endeavor to restore the population and when butcher shops exhibited for sale the flesh of human beings. And so, driven by an innate, inherited fear, the German people permitted the dominance of the sinister, devoted, patriotic, competent and ruthless Great General Staff.

When a murder has been committed, when the body has been found, when the stab wounds are disclosed, when no one has witnessed the deed, when there are several suspected, the law examines what motives each suspect had which might have



led him to strike. For Russia and France 1914 was too early for possible military success. In France a law had been passed making the period of military service three years instead of two, a great increase in the standing army, but the law had not gone into practical effect. In Russia a reorganization of the army had been decreed, but the reorganization had not been commenced, and the strategic railways planned for the Polish frontier had not been constructed, although the moneys for their construction had already been furnished by France. Belgium had voted universal military service, but the universal service had not commenced. England seemed occupied by affairs at home. Arms were being shipped alike to Southern and Northern Ireland. Sir Carson, as the Germans called him, stood at the head of 120,000 armed men and the officers of the British Army refused to march against him.

On the other hand, Germany had used the moneys raised by the Wehr Beitrag (defense tax) to add a great force to its standing army, and this force was in being and under arms. Then there were the Zeppelins and submarines and airplanes and the secret of poison gas, flame throwers and the splendid heavy artillery which made any fort untenable. And, do not forget that Russia appeared to be occupied by a growing revolution. From a military standpoint, if the zero hour of "Der Tag" was ever to strike, 1914 was the year of supreme opportunity. The great purchase of gold by the Reichsbank in 1913—144,000,000 marks more than the purchase of 1911 and 1912—is an item of evidence showing the will to war.

There were two kinds of officers in Prussia, the "patent," or regularly commissioned officers, and the "reserve" officers. The latter were picked from the one-year service men, sons of lawyers, mer-

chants, school teachers, and so forth, who seldom attained a rank higher than Lieutenant and who served but a short time with the colors. The "patent" officers could only become such by election, as in a club, by the officers of each regiment. Not even the Emperor could make a man officer of any particular regiment without the consent of the officers of the regiment. These regiments were officered by members of the old landed aristocracy, who saw to it that

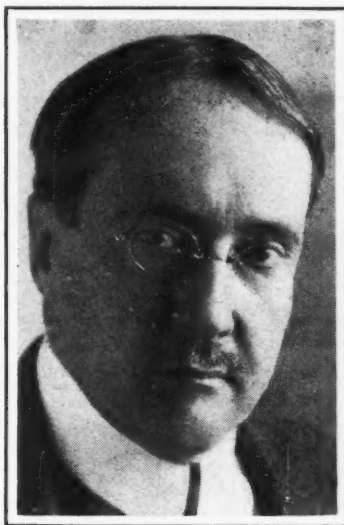
only those of their class became "patent" officers.

It was from the patent officers that the officers of the Great General Staff were chosen, a great honor for a young officer whose life thereafter became almost monastic in his devotion to study and avoidance of the frivolities of life. A German novel called "Du Schwert an meiner linken" ("Thou Sword at My Left Side") gives a picture of the life of self-denial and devotion to duty required from an officer of the Great General Staff.

The members of the Great General Staff, members also of the Prussian landed noble class, sympathized with their broth-

ers and cousins and fathers and uncles, who, in the Germany of before the war, ruled as civil officers under the appointment-from-above-downward system and who absolutely opposed the Social Democrats and Liberals who constituted the mass of its population.

The Zabern affair in 1913 and 1914, when the civil authorities were overriden by the military, and a poor, lame shoemaker was cut down by a young officer, had a reaction in Germany the force and significance of which were never properly appraised in outside countries. It resulted for the first time in the history of the Empire in a Reichstag vote of want of confidence in the Government and plainly showed that the majority of Germans were turning from militarism.



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to Germany

Then, too, the commercial advance of the country had made the officers and nobles living on pitiable incomes jealous of the business men, so that the nobles in civil Government posts and the officers of the Great General Staff, fearing for their places and prestige, saw that only a short and successful war could keep them in power.

The Great General Staff had a real influence in shaping the policy, especially the foreign policy, of the country. The memoirs of Bismarck show this. Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg often bewailed it to me, and it was this interference of the military in foreign affairs which brought America into the war, when the military and naval staffs insisted on the resumption of "ruthless" submarine war; just as it was the influence of the Great General Staff which brought about the declaration of war in 1914.

When von Hindenburg was elected I said that if I were a German I should have voted for Hindenburg. If I had been a member of the Great General Staff of Germany, looking at affairs from a purely military standpoint, it is quite possible, in view of the proposed reorganization of the

Russian armies, of the proposed increase of the French and Belgian armies, of the fact that the strategic railways of Russia were planned but not constructed, of the fact that England seemed occupied at home, and revolution was breaking out in Russia, that there was unrest in Germany and growing opposition to militarism and its burden, that the enlargement of the Kiel Canal was completed, that Germany had a temporary superiority in great guns, in troops, Zeppelins, poison gas, submarines and airplanes, I should have advocated war.

But because the members of the Great General Staff were perhaps justified from a purely professional military standpoint in proposing what military writers call a preventive war, that cannot alter the fact that it was the German General Staff that willed war and was the immediate determining cause of the war in the year 1914.

In nations vying in armaments and constantly thinking war there will always be a moment which to the military chiefs of one or the other nations seems a favorable one to commence the game of war. Only in disarmament, in common sense, in charity and understanding can we find an end of war.

### III.

## A Distinguished American Historian Apportions the War Guilt

By BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT

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THIS reply does not pretend to assess definitely the responsibility for the World War or to examine the details of that question. It will merely comment on what seem to be the two salient points of M. Demartial's presentation, namely, his protest that Germany was not solely responsible for the war, and his assumption that the Russian mobilization, which actually precipitated the war, was unnecessary and unjustified. These considerations lead him to the conclusion that "justice will be avenged only when a solemn revision of the Treaty of Versailles shall have overthrown the scaffolding of lies

and false statements in which the Powers of the Entente have accused Germany of having unchained the war of which they were the real authors."

Now the Treaty of Versailles does not declare Germany solely responsible for the war, though of course the Allied and Associated Powers believed that she was so responsible. In Article 227 the former German Emperor is arraigned "for a supreme offense against international morality and the sanctity of treaties." The reference is obviously to the invasion of Belgium. Article 231, for the elimination

or revision of which Germany clamors so insistently, reads as follows:

The Allied and Associated Governments affirm, and Germany accepts, the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies.

It will be observed that the article stands at the head of Part VIII of the treaty, which deals with reparations, and merely lays down the principle that Germany is bound to make good the damage done in the war. This principle Germany herself had accepted as one of the conditions of the armistice of Nov. 11, 1918, for in the note of Nov. 5, addressed by Mr. Lansing in behalf of the Allied and Associated Powers, it was stated to be their understanding that "compensation will be paid by Germany for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea and from the air." Article 231, then, is only the formal restatement of an undertaking assumed by Germany before peace negotiations were begun.<sup>1</sup> The word "aggression," used in both documents, must be read in connection with the preamble of the treaty, which recites that the war

originated in the declaration of war by Austria-Hungary on July 28, 1914, against Serbia, the declaration of war by Germany against Russia on Aug. 1, 1914, and against France on Aug. 3, 1914, and in the invasion of Belgium.

Legally, Germany was the aggressor, because there was no state of war until Germany launched her declarations against Russia and France, and this fact is hardly to be explained away. However much the

Germans may argue that military necessity compelled them, in the face of Russian mobilization, to declare war, it is clear that the diplomatic situation on Aug. 1, 1914, though desperate, was not hopeless, and that it was Germany's overt act which destroyed the last chance of a peaceful solution. Let it be remembered that in 1870 it was France which declared war on Prussia, and the verdict of most historians ever since has been that however much she may have been provoked by Bismarck, her act was indefensible. From the point of view of international law, there is no case for a revision of Article 231.

Our problem, however, is that of the moral and political responsibility for the war. Readers of *CURRENT HISTORY* do not have to be told that the subject is extremely controversial, and many of them will certainly not accept the implication of M. Demartial's article that Germany has been, in the light of new information, largely, if not wholly, cleared of the

charge so long brought against her. Up to a certain point M. Demartial is right. The thousands of documents from the Russian, Austrian and German archives to which he refers have profoundly altered our notions of what happened in July, 1914, and before that date, so much so that no honest student now ascribes the sole responsibility for the war to Germany or even to Germany and Austria. But these documents frequently offer extraordinarily difficult problems of interpretation. Thus there are wide differences of opinion between M. Alfred Fabre-Luce and M. Pierre Renouvir, both of whom are cited by M. Demartial, though they seem agreed on the facts. There is not, however, always agreement on facts. Professor S. B. Fay's version of the murder at Serajevo, as set forth recently in *CURRENT HISTORY*, will almost certainly be challenged in a forth-



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<sup>1</sup>This statement, of course, has no reference to the controversy whether the reparations obligations assumed by Germany in the treaty are consonant with the terms of the armistice.

coming book by Professor R. W. Seton-Watson, who has collected much new information on the spot and from other sources. How dangerous it is to dogmatize, in the present state of our knowledge, is well illustrated by the publication in *CURRENT HISTORY* for January of the minutes of the Russian Ministerial Council on July 25, 1914, a document which ought to compel even the sharpest critics of Russian policy to revise some of their judgments. And when the complete file of the British correspondence for July, 1914, which is now in the press, is published, further revision of current opinion may be necessary. In any case there is a long way to go before anything like a harmony of views is likely to be reached among the disputants, even between careful students who can rid themselves of national prejudices and exercise the most rigorous objectivity.

#### SUGGESTED INTERNATIONAL INQUIRY

M. Demartial suggests the holding of an "international inquiry." It is possible that a gathering of Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans and Russians, with representatives of neutral nations, could come to some agreement, at least as to what actually happened, but an effort to distribute responsibility would probably lead to a colorless verdict, like that of the German parliamentary committee of investigation which has decided that no individual, no party or group was responsible for Germany's losing the war. At the moment the essential thing is for the various Governments to publish the relevant documents. The Germans are busily and systematically doing so; the British are about to begin; the Soviet Government is also contributing much, though rather haphazardly, from the archives of the old régime; Austria, after a first venture, has stopped publication. But little has come from France and nothing from Italy. If an international inquiry would force the hands of those Powers, then the sooner it begins the better. Only when all the evidence is in can scholars—assuredly the problem is one for scholars rather than for politicians!—expect to arrive at conclusions which will enjoy any prospect of general acceptance.

The outstanding facts of the European situation in July, 1914, would seem, in the

light of present knowledge, to have been as follows:<sup>2</sup>

The six great powers were divided into two rival groups, the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente. The members of the Alliance were pledged to help one another if one of them were attacked;<sup>3</sup> the same obligation existed between France and Russia, and Great Britain had given "verbal assurances," or assumed "an obligation of honor" to assist France if she were the victim of an unprovoked aggression by Germany. These political agreements were reinforced by military and naval conventions (or understandings) which specified in more or less detail just how, where and in what amount the promised assistance should be rendered. Thus a hostile act on the part of one Power would almost inevitably set the whole of Europe in flames.

Who was responsible for this state of affairs? Everybody. The first steps were taken by Germany when she concluded an alliance with Austria in 1879 and brought Italy into the combination in 1882, so that the Franco-Russian alliance of 1891-1894 and the later agreements of Great Britain with it may fairly be regarded as replies to the German moves. But as the years went on the links within each group were tightened, the scope of the understandings was extended beyond the original strictly defensive purposes, and the tendency grew for the two combinations of Powers to oppose each other in every incident of international politics. In July, 1914, the lines had been drawn more rigidly than ever before. On the eve of Serajevo the rival groups stood face to face.

Again, every Power was armed to the teeth. On this point also the initial responsibility rests with Germany, for she it was who first made conscription the basis of standing armies. On the other hand, Great Britain set the pace in naval construction. But to try to make any one country responsible for the accumulation of armaments that went on for a generation

<sup>2</sup>For a fuller analysis of the pre-war situation see the article, "Triple Alliance and Triple Entente, 1902-1914," in *American Historical Review*, April, 1924.

<sup>3</sup>Except that Italy was not bound to assist Austria if the latter were attacked by Russia alone, and Austria was not bound to assist Germany against a French aggression.



is, so it seems to the writer, futile, for a careful examination will show that every Government built up as large an army and constructed as powerful a navy as it could persuade its own people to sanction and to pay for. Armaments and alliances alike were the result of the general European situation, about to be described. In 1914 there was a rough balance of armed force between the two groups, just as there was a kind of political equilibrium—an unstable balance, no doubt, but sufficient to keep the peace of Europe if it could be preserved.

The trouble was that maintenance of the balance depended upon maintenance of the *status quo*, and that the *status quo* was becoming increasingly difficult to maintain, was perhaps beyond maintenance. The territorial arrangements of the Continent, more particularly in Eastern and South-eastern Europe, had been devised without regard to the principle of nationality, and that creed, born of the French Revolution and intensified with each passing decade, had by the twentieth century become revolutionary in its program and proportions. In the Balkans the frontiers were notoriously unstable and unfair, as well after the wars of 1912-1913 as before them. So well was this understood that the Triple Alliance provided for the ultimate realization of Austrian and Italian ambitions in that region. Even more serious was the situation in Austria itself, where millions of men were protesting passionately and sometimes violently against a political system that paid no attention to the wishes of the peoples and served only dynastic necessities and the interests of privileged races. The tension had indeed become so great that an explosion seemed only a matter of time, and the Franco-Russian alliance had been modified to take care of such an eventuality. To be prepared against this day of dislocation was the real purpose of the entangling alliances and the bloated armaments which registered the schism of Europe.

The key to the situation was undoubtedly the polyglot State of Austria-Hungary. It was natural for its rulers to try to counteract the subversive nationalistic agitation which, if unchecked, would end by destroying the State itself. But instead of grant-

ing the necessary reforms, they thought only of subduing discontent by force and of gaining prestige by a dangerous and at times provocative foreign policy. If at home they were on the defensive, their conduct abroad aroused suspicions of far-reaching ambitions which would shatter the fragile *status quo*. To counteract these plans, real or imagined, the Russian Government, in order to realize its own ambitions, encouraged and assisted the enemies of Austria abroad and her discontented peoples at home. That Russia was actually planning a war against Austria has not been proved. More probably she was waiting for that antiquated political organization to collapse from its own rottenness. But Russia's policy was aggressive in the sense that it was promoting and stimulating the process of disintegration.

#### DUEL OF THE ALLIANCES

In this mighty duel, each of the protagonists was supported whole-heartedly by its ally. The continued existence of Austria and the extension of Austrian influence in the Balkans were essential for the success of Germany's own plans in Turkey. Though Berlin sometimes disliked the technique of the Vienna policy, it did not withhold its support. But an Austro-German domination of the Near East would destroy the equilibrium of Europe, and therefore France supported Russia as unhesitatingly and as unflinchingly as Germany stood by Austria. In each camp the conviction appears to have taken root that the issue would have to be fought out some day, and hence the feverish preparations for war that distinguished the years immediately preceding 1914. The question whether any power desired a European war is precisely the point on which the interpretations of the available evidence are most divergent, as may be readily seen by comparing what M. Renouvin and Professor Barnes have to say. What is clear, however, is that Austria and Germany on the one hand, and France and Russia on the other, were alike prepared to fight rather than concede to their rivals any striking diplomatic success which would weigh the balance against them.

By the worst possible turn of fortune, the issue between the two alliances was pre-

precipitated over the question of Serbia, a question which had plagued the chancelleries of Europe greatly for six years and, in less acute form, since the Congress of Berlin. The Austrian occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1878 was accomplished against the wishes of the inhabitants, who wished to unite with their Serbian kinsmen, and only in face of their armed opposition. These facts certainly gave the Serbs some kind of moral, though of course no legal, claim to the provinces, and ultimately they resorted to propaganda and intrigue, ever the resource of the weak, which was intended to and did undermine the Austrian position. The Vienna Government retorted by attempting to control the political and economic life of Serbia, using at different times bribery, fraud and force.<sup>4</sup> The climax was reached in June, 1914, with the murder of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand.

Since it has become known that high Serbian officials were privy to the plot that led to the crime and perhaps connived at its execution, many persons have concluded that Austria was justified in formulating demands in her famous ultimatum that would have reduced Serbia to powerlessness. Certainly the crime of Serajevo is not to be defended, but it ought to be remembered (1) that in 1903 the Austrian Government was well aware of the plot to kill King Alexander of Serbia, which has earned the Serbs so many black marks, and did not warn its victim; and (2) that the Serajevo plot was hatched in Bosnia and executed by Bosniaks as a reply to the repressive and oppressive Austro-Hungarian policy toward the Southern Slavs within and without the Habsburg monarchy. If it was to be expected that Austria would resort to drastic measures to defend her territorial integrity, it must also be said that there was no prospect of justice being done to the Southern Slavs under the sacrosanct Austro-Hungarian system of government. If reform from within was impos-

sible, then the revolution from without was the only recourse of a desperate people. There was, in short, a remarkable resemblance between the position of Serbia and that of Sardinia sixty years before, when Cavour sought to destroy the Austrian control of Northern Italy by much the same methods that Pashitch and the Serbs employed in Bosnia—and posterity has decided that the Italian cause was just.

As regards the European aspect of the problem, it may be observed that the danger to Austria from Serbian ambitions was potential rather than actual. The Serbian Army was not waiting to invade Bosnia, nor was the murder of the Archduke the signal for a revolutionary rising. The Austrian action, however much disguised as a preventive measure necessary for future safety, involved an immediate displacement; for it contemplated (1) an abridgment of Serbian sovereignty by the participation of Austrian officials in the work of government; (2) the payment of an indemnity, even if Serbia had accepted the ultimatum *in toto*; and (3) "the isolation and diminution of Serbia," as Franz Josef assured Wilhelm II—that is, the award of Serbian territory to Bulgaria and Albania. Serbia must surely have been left as Austria's helpless vassal, as the latter desired, had not Russia come to the assistance of the little State, and with this we reach the crucial point in the whole question of the immediate responsibility for the war.

#### RUSSIA'S INTERVENTION

Legally, Russia had no right to interfere. Diplomatic practice of a century sanctioned the rule that affairs of the Balkans must be settled by all the Powers. But this case was peculiar, for Austria claimed that nothing less than her existence was at stake, and her demands did not threaten the territorial integrity of Russia. The Russian justification is to be found in the domain of high politics, in the necessity of maintaining the balance of Europe. At the moment the crisis arose Germany seemed to have won the upper hand in the long struggle for ascendancy in Turkey. A German General was in practical command of the Turkish Army, and so friendly was the Turkish Government that on Aug.

<sup>4</sup>Bribery: The secret alliance of Austria-Hungary with the King of Serbia, 1881-1895, in which the former promised to help Serbia acquire Macedonia in return for giving up agitation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The King said that he was the only person in the country who would have signed such a document. Fraud: Use of forged documents in 1909 to incriminate Serbia, and in 1912 the concoction of an imaginary story of Serbian brutality to an Austrian Consul. Force: Threats of war in 1909, 1912 and 1913.

1, 1914, it signed an alliance with Germany. For some months Turkey and Bulgaria had been negotiating for an alliance, and Bulgaria, so long the protégé of Russia, had repudiated her protector and concluded a loan in Berlin and Vienna rather than in Paris. If Serbia could be brought under Austrian influence the last link in the chain from Berlin to Bagdad would be forged.<sup>5</sup> To prevent such a diplomatic domination of the Near East by Austria and Germany, Russia was bound, from the point of view of her political interests and in accord with historical tradition, to intervene.

As a matter of fact, both Austria and Germany, as their own documents show conclusively, expected Russia to intervene. But they thought that Russia's action would be confined to diplomatic protest and not be followed up by action. Why they should have thought so remains, in spite of certain reasons that have been adduced, the chief mystery of the crisis of 1914, but they seem really to have been surprised when Russia began to take military measures after her protests were not heeded. Indeed, Germany was so much surprised that she had no policy ready to meet the new situation—that is, no policy except a veto on Russian mobilization. Inasmuch as that mobilization was the immediate occasion of the European war, we have to ask whether it was justified. The German position in 1914 and adhered to ever since was that from a military point of view Germany could not allow Russia to mobilize, it being assumed that "mobilization meant war," and if it was to be war Germany could not wait for Russia to complete her mobilization at leisure. Hence the German warning, delivered before Russia began to mobilize, that mobilization would make war inevitable; if, in spite of this warning, Russia chose to mobilize the responsibility for war must rest upon her. Even the French and British Foreign Offices appear to have taken it for granted that Russian mobilization would be tanta-

mount to war, and the Germans have made much of the fact that neither Paris nor London, though well aware of the danger, would advise Russia not to mobilize.

But was not Germany, in substance, saying to Russia, "You shall not use your military power to threaten Austria, but we will use our military power to threaten you"? Of course, the Germans contended that Russia must not interfere in a dispute which, they asserted, concerned only Austria and Serbia, and their plan was to bluff Russia into submission. When Russia refused to be bluffed they had to deny the right of the Russian Government to dispose of its troops within its own territory as it saw fit. From the strictly military point of view the argument was intelligible and sound, but politically it was an impossible contention. No self-respecting Government could tolerate such insolence, least of all a Government which had twice before retreated before pressure but which in 1914 was confident in the strength of its army. Actually, Russia did not mobilize until after Austria had declared war on Serbia. But when the Austrian Government saw that Russia was in earnest it expressed its willingness to discuss the substance of the ultimatum to Serbia, which was all that Russia had asked for from the beginning of the crisis. From the Russian point of view the mobilization had achieved its purpose. A fair criticism of Russian mobilization is that it was premature. Russia might well have first warned Austria that mobilization would follow if Austria did not consent to open "conversations"; such a step might have had the same effect as mobilization.

#### THE LAST CHANCE FOR PEACE

No one can say whether Austro-Russian "conversations" would have led to a peaceful settlement, for the Austrians were playing for time, but they represented the last chance for peace, which was destroyed by the resolute determination of the German General Staff to "get the jump" on their enemies. No doubt those gentlemen honestly believed that the Russian armies, having been mobilized, would necessarily, inevitably and automatically proceed to attack Germany, for that was their own doctrine, an assumption, however, which

<sup>5</sup>In fairness it may be remarked that Germany and Austria were much disturbed by Rumania's flirtation with Russia in June, 1914. They feared that Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro would constitute a wedge under Russian influence, separating them from Bulgaria and Turkey. This shows how important the position of Serbia on the European chessboard had become.

has not been proved. The Russian Government always asserted that it was ready to negotiate to the last minute, and no doubt sincerely, for every day gained for the mobilization strengthened its position in negotiation; ultimately it could enforce its demands upon Austria without recourse to war. In other words, Germany could have avoided war—at the price of a sharp diplomatic defeat which would have left the Balkans at the mercy of Russia and broken the direct connection with Turkey.

For getting herself into this predicament Germany had only herself to blame, for the origin of this situation—a situation which appalled the Kaiser and his Government when they understood it—is to be traced back to July 5, that is, to the day when, after a hopelessly faulty analysis of the international position, they handed Austria the "blank check," without which the latter would never have launched her ultimatum. But had Austria proceeded more discreetly there need not have been any Russian mobilization. If that mobilization caused the war, it was in no small degree Germany's fault, against which judgment she can plead that when she saw what she had done she tried to find some way of escape, but tried too late, unless she was willing to abandon her headstrong ally.

The Russian mobilization was "in no small degree Germany's fault." There is no longer any doubt that Russia would not have taken the strong line she did and proceeded with mobilization regardless of German warnings had she not been positively assured of French support. If, therefore, we condemn Germany for too strong support of Austria, we must also recognize that France stood just as strongly behind Russia, and that, too, so many have contended, without the same direct interest that Germany had in the maintenance of Austria; which is partly true. But France did have a very real interest, as the game of European politics was then played, in preventing that disturbance in the balance of power which would have resulted from the application of the Austro-German program. And involved as she was in the alliance system, France had to support Russia, just as Germany had to support Austria, or be left isolated. It has also been

made a charge against France that she declined to exert pressure on Russia to prevent the latter's mobilization, which is true and more serious. But France accepted, and Germany declined, what was all things considered, the most promising proposal to keep the peace, namely, Sir Edward Grey's suggestion of a conference in London, which had the enormous advantage of being made before the diplomatic situation had been overtaken by military moves.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF BLAME

From what has been said, it would seem to follow that the immediate responsibility for the catastrophe is widely distributed. No one Power was solely to blame; no one can be entirely exonerated. The conduct of Serbia merited some kind of punishment, as was universally recognized. But Austria deliberately embarked on a policy which could not fail to arouse the opposition of Russia. Russia can be charged with premature mobilization. Germany waited too long before trying to restrain the ally she had so recklessly encouraged. France refused to exert pressure on Russia. Even Great Britain, by her unwillingness or her inability to state her position, made it possible for the war parties in every capital to speculate on her assistance or her neutrality. Various attempts have been made to arrange the parties in some arithmetical order of guilt. No two of them are alike. Perhaps the soundest comment yet made is that of the distinguished English historian, Dr. G. P. Gooch: "Though the conduct of each of the belligerents appeared devilish to its enemies, yet in every case it was precisely what might have been expected."<sup>6</sup> Each Power thought in the first instance of protecting its own interests, as it understood them, and only secondarily of the peace of Europe.<sup>7</sup> As matters stood in 1914, every one felt that the future, for an indefinite period ahead, was at stake, and that the war was preferable to surrender. The activities of the military men undoubtedly made

<sup>6</sup>*History of Modern Europe* (1923), p. 554.

<sup>7</sup>This is too strong a condemnation of British policy. Sir Edward Grey exhausted his resourcefulness in peace proposals. At the end of his list may be noted his offer, on July 31, to abandon France and Russia if Germany would make genuine proposals for peace.



more difficult and in the end prevented a peaceful solution, but even if a compromise could have been patched up by the diplomatists, the fundamental issue would have remained. (That issue was the conflict between the rising tide of nationality, essentially revolutionary in both its aims and its methods, and the conservative forces that wished to keep frontiers and institutions as they were. The historian will hesitate to convict of criminal intent either a people struggling to be free or a Government attempting to preserve itself, but will conclude, from a study of the nineteenth century, that the conflict between two such conflicting ideas could be settled only by war.

Theoretically, the Austro-Serbian quarrel could have been settled between the two interested parties. Actually, the system of alliances and the competition in armaments made the result a question of European interest—and what happened in July, 1914, illustrated, in convincing fashion, the futility of both alliances and armaments as means for keeping the peace

of Europe. At that time only one statesman in Europe seemed to have grasped the lesson—Sir Edward Grey. On July 30, 1914, he telegraphed to Berlin:

And I will say this: If the peace of Europe can be preserved, and the present crisis safely passed, my own endeavor will be to promote some arrangement to which Germany could be a party, by which she could be assured that no aggressive or hostile policy would be pursued against her or her allies by France, Russia and ourselves, jointly or separately. \* \* \* The idea has hitherto been too Utopian to form the subject of definite proposals; but if this present crisis, so much more acute than any that Europe has gone through for generations, be safely passed, I am hopeful that the relief and reaction which will follow may make possible some more definite rapprochement between the powers than has been possible hitherto.

Sir Edward Grey was the "spiritual author" of the Treaties of Locarno. Let us hope that the "spirit of Locarno" may make possible "some more definite rapprochement between the powers" on the question of responsibility for the war of 1914.

## Amazing Prophecies That Foreshadowed The World War

By JOHN BAKELESS

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THERE is nothing quite so amazing about the World War as the stubborn blindness with which people refused to see that it was coming. It is incredible that after years of tension and constant crises, Europe and the world at large could still feel any surprise at the bloody catastrophe of 1914. But facts have a way of being incredible.

Numerous writers had predicted in a general way the occurrence of the World War, its approximate extent and duration, the movements of the armies and even the weapons with which it was to be waged. Many of these predictions were amazing in their detail and the accuracy with which subsequent events fulfilled them. Yet in spite of this chorus of prophetic warning

the World War took the world by surprise. Prophecies of a coming Franco-German struggle began immediately after the War of 1870, as they began immediately in 1919. Between 1887 and 1900 a single Paris publishing house brought out three distinct books with a single title—*La Prochaine Guerre*; and a few clear-thinking soldiers and publicists like the Belgians Emile Banning and Charles Dejardin saw even then that more than two nations would be involved. But these early predictions of the events of 1914, though interesting, are not so detailed as the later predictions, made after the alignment of the future belligerents had become clearer.

In 1900, when the new German Navy bill with its hostile preamble was intro-

duced in the Reichstag, Sir Rowland Blennerhassett declared in the violently nationalistic *National Review* of London that the German Navy was being prepared "for a struggle with England," while the pugnacious editor of the *Review* said in his September number that as Britain stood in the way of Germany's efforts to become a naval power, Britain "therefore must be smashed."

The growing rivalry between Great Britain and Germany was visible, however, to others besides the citizens of the two discordant nations. In 1902, just before Mr. Wickham Steed left Rome, where he had been correspondent of the *London Times*, to take the same post in Vienna, he had a conversation with the veteran Italian statesman, the Marquis Visconti Venosta, who prophesied with perfect accuracy: "England and Germany will come to blows within ten or fifteen years." The war took place in exactly twelve.

Immediately after the Tangier crisis of 1905, Denis Guibert and Henry Ferrette published *La Guerre en perspective* (War in Perspective), predicting that the hour of battle would come on the death of Franz Josef or whenever the Balkan question was up for settlement. Eleven years later the old Emperor did die in the midst of a war which had arisen in the Balkans.

Only as the fatal year 1914 approached and as crisis after crisis revealed how closely knit was the tangled network of alliances that tied Europe together did prophecies of a general war on an unprecedented scale become general. As early as 1908 the wise and cynical Anatole France realized the possibility that the coming conflict might not be so simple a matter as war between any two or three nations, and wrote: "There is nothing to assure us that France will not one day find herself involved in a great European or world conflagration."

In August of that same year, Mr. Steed privately decided "that when Germany made war her forces would pass through Belgium." Clémenceau himself had told him: "We know that on the morrow of war between Germany and England, the German armies will invade France by way of Belgium."

These conclusions had been anticipated,

however, by the French military attaché in London, who late in 1905 suggested to Colonel Repington the likelihood of a sudden German assault through the territory whose neutrality Germany had guaranteed. (This possibility was repeatedly pointed out by Colonel Repington in the *London Times*, for which he was then military critic, and by Charles Malo, who held a similar post on the *Journal des Débats* in Paris.)

In 1900 the Belgian General Ducarne again pointed out the danger of an attack through the Meuse Valley. Colonel Repington, who had hinted as much in 1905, spoke his mind plainly in 1910: "Indications point with increasing force to the possibility that Germany may find herself compelled, for military reasons, to disregard the neutrality of Belgium and to direct her main attack upon France through Belgian territory."

Surveying the altered German dispositions, he wrote in 1911 that "the axis of the future attack upon France had shifted to the north," and that "the preservation of the neutrality of Belgium and possibly of the Netherlands was threatened by this new departure in German strategy." Carefully summarizing the military theories current in the German Army and comparing them with German troop distributions, he concluded:

We are thus brought face to face with two alternative suppositions. Either the principles of strategy and tactics inculcated by German regulations, recommended by all the greatest German authorities and writers on war, and invariably practiced at manoeuvres, have no application whatsoever to existing conditions, or else they have been adopted in full knowledge that in time of war space for deployment will be found by the violation of neutral frontiers.

#### THREAT TO BELGIAN NEUTRALITY

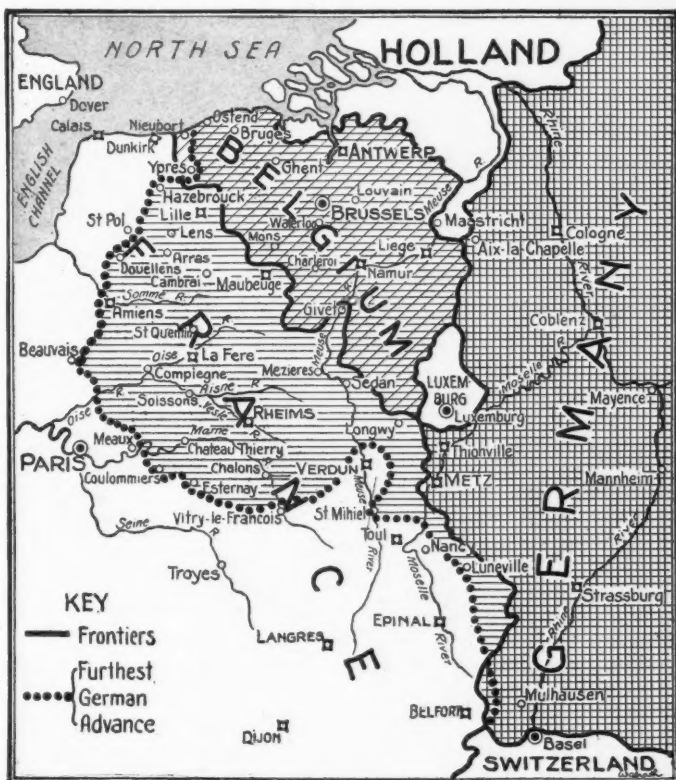
However blind certain of their military leaders may have been, anxious Frenchmen were not lacking to point out the danger of the Belgian frontier. About this time a Dutch plan to fortify Flushing aroused both French and British, who suspected that the new fortifications would be an aid to Germany. The French Nationalist, Jules Delafosse, warned the Chamber of Deputies that "in case of international conflict Belgium would be invaded in

order to take the left flank of the French Army in the rear," and that the proposed Flushing fortifications would help Germany to hold off British aid from coming to the rescue.

In 1907 Charles Malo, after a personal trip along the frontier of Belgium and Germany, wrote: "Almost certainly Holland, will be drawn, willy-nilly, into the war which, for \* \* \* economic reasons \* \* \* will be fought with Germany on one side, France and England on the other." M. Malo was one of the first to doubt the impregnability of the forts at Liège and Antwerp, seven years before they fell. The French General Maitrot saw quite as far ahead when he wrote with perfect accuracy in 1911: "The Germans will attack us through Belgium, turning the left flank of our defensive line, Verdun-Toul-Belfort." That is just what happened. Today this same General Maitrot predicts a new war.

In 1911 appeared General Bernhardt's famous—or notorious—book, *Germany and the Next War*. In this study, the writing of which was nearly interrupted by the premature arrival of the next war after the Agadir crisis, the literary General forecast a struggle in which England, Germany, France and Russia would all be engaged, and which he described as "the necessary and inevitable war."

In the same year, on the other side of the frontier, the French journalist Francis Delaisi, in his book *La Guerre qui vient* (The Coming War), predicted a war in which England, France and Germany would be involved and which would lead to the violation of Belgian neutrality. While M. Delaisi was making these



Map showing how in the World War Belgium was once more "the cockpit of Europe." The powerful French fortresses and other defenses along the Franco-German frontier rendered it impossible for the German forces to make a direct attack on France, causing them to go through Belgium to invade France and attempt the capture of Paris

prophecies, Colonel Arthur Boucher was proclaiming the French "*certitude de vaincre*" in his popular pamphlet, *La France victorieuse dans la guerre de demain* (France Victorious in the War of Tomorrow), which sold by thousands of copies. He foresaw with perfect accuracy that "if war breaks out tomorrow, within ten days we shall see our country invaded by a million men without our allies having been able to turn aside a single unit."

Next year Colonel Boucher followed up this strategic study with another, entitled *L'Offensive contre l'Allemagne* (The Offensive Against Germany), and in 1913 put forward the idea that Belgian neutrality must be preserved because it was the "best protection" of the French frontier. This was not so foolish as it sounds today. At that time the existence of 42-centimeter

howitzers was not suspected and the fortifications of Liège and Namur were still thought capable of stopping any assault.

#### BRITISH FEAR OF GERMAN INVASION

British public opinion was considerably disturbed by fears that Germany would invade the British Isles. As early as 1903, Erskine Childers, later to die as a rebel in Ireland, but then a faithful subject of the King, had published a sensational novel, *The Riddle of the Sands*, which dwelt on a possible invasion of England by a German "army of infantry, with the lightest type of field guns on big, sea-going lighters, towed by powerful but shallow-draught tugs, under escort of a powerful composite squadron of warships." (A second edition appeared in 1910. This was the most famous of a long series of novels in French, German and English, describing future wars between England and France as late as 1910, and other wars between England and Germany, each supported by alliances that varied with the writers' fancies.)

In 1907 the possibility of a German invasion was seriously considered by the Committee on Imperial Defense, before which Colonel Repington read a memorandum pointing out that Germany's standing army could provide a force sufficient to invade England "without resort to regular mobilization." He estimated the total time required after the German troops received their first orders until they arrived off the British coast as three days and two hours.

A series of articles by the ex-Socialist, Robert Blatchford, which appeared in the *Daily Mail* in 1912, announced the German determination to wipe out the British fleet, invade England and destroy the empire. This—though insincerely ridiculed by a Government that did not dare reveal its own fears—so affected the popular mind that despite British faith in the Navy, the invasion bogey, which had been frankly discussed by Prime Minister Balfour in the House of Commons as early as 1905, was never afterward quite laid. Throughout the World War large numbers of troops, though badly needed elsewhere, were kept at home to deal with mythical invaders. Admiral von Tirpitz, however, to judge by his post-war revelations, never

dreamed of a German invasion of England. When Professor Charles Sarolea of Edinburgh University wrote his book on *The Anglo-German Problem*, two years before the World War broke out, he declared himself "not at all convinced that the scare of a German invasion of England is justified," adding: "Indeed, I am inclined to believe the Germans when they assert that in case of war Germany would not be likely to invade Britain. She would be far more likely to invade Belgium." As if to complete the uncanny prescience that characterized this remarkable book, Professor Sarolea cast his prophetic glance beyond the approaching conflict and suggested its aftermath:

Europe is drifting slowly but steadily toward an awful catastrophe which, if it does happen, will throw back civilization for the coming generation as the War of 1870 threw back civilization for the generation which followed and which inherited its dire legacy of evil.

Professor Sarolea likewise foresaw the future rôle of military aircraft: "If aerotechnics make as rapid progress in the next five years as they have done within the last decade, England, for military purposes, will have ceased to be an island." When these sentences were written there were but a few hundred military aircraft in the whole world.

#### WAR SHADOW IN PRE-WAR YEARS

In the same year, while the Italians and Turks were struggling in Tripoli, the *Daily Mail Yearbook* contained an anonymous article by Wickham Steed headed "Is It War?" which declared frankly:

The shadow of war lies over Europe, a shadow cast less by the strife in Tripoli than by the conflicting aims of European powers; never since Colonel (sic) Marchand reached Fashoda in September, 1898, has it seemed so real, so opaque.

The nearness of the tragedy was now beginning to open the eyes of others. Lord Roberts had long foreseen the danger, even going so far as to dictate a series of anonymous articles which appeared in the *London World*. The pacifist, the late E. D. Morel, who had first distinguished himself by his exposé of abuses in the Congo, now turned his attention to the menace of war and in his book *Morocco in Diplomacy*



(1912) pointed out the disaster that would overwhelm Europe as a whole, no matter where the war began, even if only two nations were at first involved.

In January, 1912, when the Agadir affair had been virtually smoothed over, another journalist declared in the *Westminster Review* that war between England and Germany was "still a very real peril," which, if it occurred, "must result in complete and irretrievable ruin to the combatants, if not also to the passive spectators." A few months later a second writer in the same magazine, after an elaborate description of German preparations for mobilization on the Belgian frontier, asked bluntly: "Does this not concern us?"

In this same year the Socialist Juarès elucidated in the Chamber of Deputies the German plan of crushing France first and then turning swiftly upon Russia. As early as 1887 he had written in the *Dépêche de Toulouse* that the next European war would be caused by Austrian and Russian quarrels originating in the Balkans and that France would be dragged in by a Russian alliance. Nor was he deceived by the guarantee of Belgian neutrality.

An American soldier of fortune, Homer Lea, who held a Lieutenant General's commission in the Chinese Army, published in 1912 his *Day of the Saxon*, a sensational book with few pretensions to scholarship, in which he predicted that the British Empire would speedily find itself at death grips with potential foes whose identity was left in little doubt. This was translated into German in 1913 with a new title, *Des Britischen Reiches Schicksalsstunde* (The British Empire's Hour of Destiny), and provoked a reply by a retired officer of the German Army, Colonel H. Frobenius, which he called *The German Empire's Hour of Destiny* and in which he prophesied a "conflict in which Europe will be torn to pieces." This prophecy was published in March, 1914.

The year 1913 abounds in prophecy. In France Lieutenant Colonel A. Grovard published *La Guerre Eventuelle*, in which he suggested that Belgium neutrality would probably be violated. The American writer C. E. Russell was told during the Summer that "war was to come within a year," and

was "obligingly furnished with a map of the route the German Army would take." The old Emperor Franz Josef, always in favor of peace because he doubted his luck in war, remarked to one of his Ambassadors that nothing but a general war could bring about a suitable solution of the state into which affairs had fallen.

Even in distant America, President Wilson grew uneasy as it became all too evident that Europe was drifting to catastrophe. In August, 1913, almost an exact twelve-month before hostilities began and just after the second Balkan War had flickered out, Ambassador Page wrote from London: "A way must be found out of this stagnant watching. Else a way will have to be fought out of it; and a great European war would set the Old World, perhaps the whole world, back a long way."

In April of 1914, Maximilian Harden, the famous editor of *Die Zukunft*, declared that there would be war during the approaching Summer.

In May, three months before it was too late, Colonel House sailed for Europe on a secret mission for the President. He was to survey European conditions and bring about conciliation if that should be possible. Traveling direct to Germany, he met the chief leaders of the German war machine, and had his famous interview with the German Emperor on June 1. Having reasoned with no perceptible success in Berlin, but without attracting public attention, Colonel House went on to Paris, where he found the French Republic to all appearances primarily intent upon its own domestic problems, though post-war revelations have shown us that appearances were not altogether in accord with facts.

In mid-June, therefore, the pacificatory Colonel traveled on to London, where British statesmen, some of whom must surely have known better, met him with assurances that there was no great danger.

The succession of crises from 1900 to 1914 had given the indifferent people of the world clear warning of what was happening. A succession of writers, statesmen, scholars, soldiers, sailors and publicists had discerned the drift of events and foretold its certain outcome with amazing clarity and accuracy.

# Rivalry Between the Nations in Wireless Expansion

By WILLIAM H. SCHEIFLEY

A member of the Faculty of Indiana University

**I**F a nation would today enjoy security and prosperity it should possess its own radio communications with the outside world. The experience of recent years has made clear the necessity of such utilities for assuring a country's independence and for facilitating its intercourse, both commercial and intellectual, with other countries. Hence the scramble among the nations of late for priority in the establishment of wireless plants throughout the world. Especially has France made great strides forward, although impeded by serious handicaps. She has won a creditable rank in the movement, thanks to the excellence of her radio equipment.

It behooves the French the more to safeguard their radio interests, since they were largely dependent upon foreign companies for international cable communications, a deficiency that extended back many years. In contrast with Great Britain and the United States, France has had no consistent cable policy. Consequently, of more than 800,000 miles of submarine cables used for the transmission of international dispatches, the French own but 20,400 miles, or 7 per cent. Only three of the seventeen foreign cables touching Europe belong to them. Aside from North America, their cable communications with other countries are chiefly effected over foreign-owned lines. And if from the standpoint of length we turn to the volume of cable transmissions, France's share appears as more insignificant still, since it represents less than 3 per cent. of the total receipts. In other words, Great Britain and the United States, which control most cable lines, share between them nearly 90 per cent. of such revenues, amounting to about \$75,000,000 each year.

The disadvantages of such a situation as that of France are obvious. To be dependent upon foreign utilities, either po-

litically or commercially, limits a nation's liberty of action. Thus, in nearly all parts of the world dispatches from French sources are received after those from British or American sources have been circulated. Similarly, the French often are handicapped in commerce by the fact that earlier reports have enabled their competitors to skim the cream from the world's markets. As economists point out, a people's opportunities in matters political, commercial, and financial are, so to speak, proportionate to its ownership of international communications. Some have wondered why the French did not expand their foreign cable lines after the World War. That was financially impossible, since, for example, the construction of a double cable from Europe to the Far East would cost at present 500,000,000 francs.

Wireless telegraphy fortunately offered the French a less expensive means of communicating with other countries. This was in line with the growing possibilities of radio transmission. Three years ago Newcomb Carlton, President of the Western Union, the largest American cable company, stated that the trans-Atlantic radio service could send half the messages handled by the seventeen existing cables. At the international telegraph conference in Paris, in September, 1925, Senator Marconi pointed out the unique part played by wireless in recent years. He mentioned particularly its services in the World War, in lessening the perils of navigation, in safeguarding life at sea, and in furthering air traffic. Nor did he fail to emphasize the importance of radio as a medium for disseminating instruction and amusements. In Marconi's opinion, finally, the extension of wireless telegraphy bids fair shortly to cause substantial reductions in cable rates.

In the radio field, however, as in that of the submarine cable, the French, at the

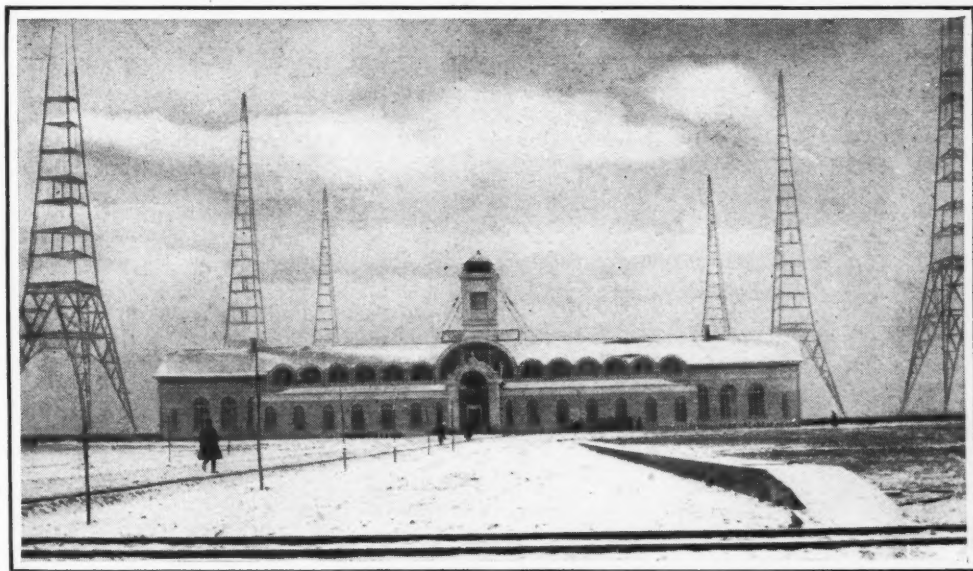
end of the late war, found themselves outdistanced by other nations. The Marconi organization, which held a monopoly in Great Britain, operated stations at Clifden, Poldhu and Carnarvon. Besides, this company had secured extensive concessions in Canada, South Africa, Spain, Brazil and Colombia. In 1921 it signed an important contract with Switzerland, and seemed destined to acquire exclusive radio rights in India. Everywhere its expansion progressed methodically, threatening to envelop the world with a network of wireless telegraphy under British control.

Nor was the powerful British syndicate the only one to be feared by the French. On this side of the Atlantic the Radio Corporation of America, which had been founded at the request of the United States Government, had established relations with Great Britain, Germany, Norway, Italy, Hawaii, Japan and Central America. By virtue of its exceptional privileges, this corporation, in the words of its President, "sought to organize radio communications, exploited and controlled by America, for the purpose of competing with other nations and of freeing America from dependence upon foreign-owned cables." Accordingly, the

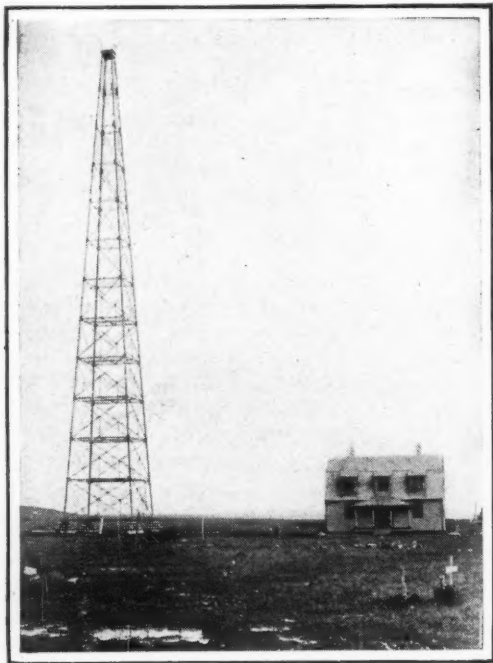
United States Government transferred to the syndicate the radio stations it had used before and during the World War, and by an act of Congress of June 5, 1920, the American Radio Corporation received further exclusive rights.

As for Germany, she manifested the greater activity in the wireless field, since it offered her the only way to obtain rapid compensation for her loss of submarine cables during the World War. Here again there sprang up an enterprising company, the Transradiotelefunkengesellschaft. Backed by the German Government, this syndicate hastened to connect its installations at Nauen with the United States, South America and the Far East. Its plant at Eilvese took charge of communications with Spain and Czechoslovakia. At Batavia, Java, the German firm had constructed a powerful Dutch station, which served as a relay between Nauen and points in the Pacific Ocean. It enjoyed a privileged position in Holland, and had obtained from Argentina the concession for a plant at Buenos Aires.

Such, then, was the situation: three puissant foreign syndicates, backed by their Governments and favored with extensive concessions abroad, were rapidly



The wireless station at Croix d'Hinc, seventeen miles from Bordeaux, France. It was begun by the United States Government during the World War, and after being completed was presented to France as a gift of the American people. A call from the station can be heard in Washington, D. C., a distance of 3,000 miles



The United States wireless station at Nome, Alaska, the most northerly in America

monopolizing international wireless communication. A contest was already under way in Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela, Chile, Peru, Ecuador, Mexico, Italy, Serbia, Greece and Poland. And one was opening in the Far East, where rivalry between Great Britain and the United States gave promise of a spirited struggle.

The French, engrossed in problems of reconstruction and financial difficulties, had deferred participation in the radio scramble. But soon it became apparent that they must act with redoubled efforts if they wanted "a place in the sun." Although the French Government seemed disinclined to alienate its wireless monopoly, it had no alternative. Besides, had not other countries granted such rights to a syndicate? Accordingly, in October, 1920, France authorized the formation of a similar syndicate, called the *Compagnie Générale de Télégraphie sans fil*. So there finally existed in France a definite corporation qualified to negotiate radio concessions in foreign countries. The company's first step was to let a contract for the construction of a superstation at

Sainte-Assise, near Paris. Eighteen months later that station opened communication with America. Its power and rapidity of transmission were unequaled in the world. Nor to this day, it seems, has any other attained its technical excellence. In consequence the French syndicate was henceforth prepared to compete for the establishment of wireless communications over the world.

#### FRENCH COMPANY'S PROGRESS

In 1921 the *Compagnie Générale* secured permission to do business in Argentina, where the German, American and British syndicates had already opened offices and were about to divide the radio industry among them. Thanks, however, to an eleventh-hour effort of the French



Receiving antenna at Riverhead, Long Island, N. Y., the principal station for the reception of European messages handled by the Radio Corporation of America. This antenna is only 30 feet off the ground, but the aerial is nine miles long, the length of the waves

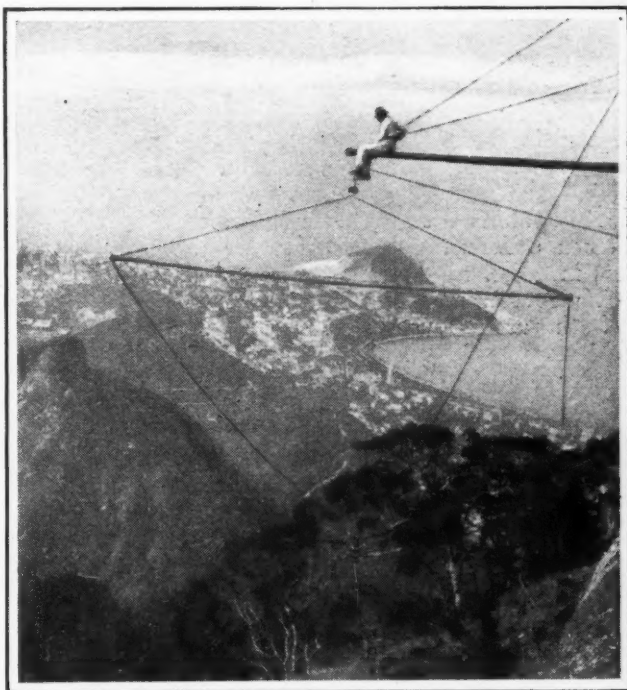


company, it obtained an equal share; and since July, 1924, the director of the quadruple corporation of Argentina has been a Frenchman. In Brazil the *Compagnie Générale* secured a similar right of participation, a principle since applicable to virtually all South America. Further, in Czechoslovakia it erected for the Government a wireless station destined to connect that country with the plants of Europe, and, through the powerful French station at Sainte-Assise, with those beyond the Atlantic.

In Rumania the French syndicate supplied the materials for the Bucharest station and installed them. In Yugoslavia it constructed the central plant at Belgrade and won the concession for the entire country. In Belgium it erected the gigantic station at Ruysselède. It installed the wireless plant at Beirut in Syria, creating at the same time the Oriental Radio Company.

In China, where, due to the extent of the country and the density of its population, a bright future awaits wireless telegraphy, important concessions have recently gone to the French company. This seems surprising, since China had signed contracts with other syndicates long before the French appeared on the scene. For example, in 1913, the associated cable companies known as the Eastern Extension and the Great Northern had obtained from the Chinese Government for seventeen years a monopoly of cable communications between that country and the outside world. In 1918 the Japanese Mitsui syndicate had secured a like monopoly of Chinese wireless for thirty years, on condition that it reached an understanding until 1930 with the cable firms just mentioned. Yet, such contracts did not prevent the Marconi syndicate from creating the Chinese National Wireless, a corporation to which the Chinese Government

granted preferential rights in contracts for radio supplies. Furthermore, in 1921, the Federal Telegraph Company of San Francisco was commissioned by China to construct a powerful radio station at Shanghai and four smaller ones in other parts of the country. Finally, China had conceded to the Western Electric, another American corporation, its domestic telephone service.



The wireless station on the summit of Corcovado, 2,100 feet above Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, one of the highest wireless installations in the world

When the question of wireless in Eastern Asia and in the Pacific came up for discussion at the Washington Conference of 1922, France had received nothing. But the conference agreed that henceforth the French should participate on a footing of equality with the nations which had already secured concessions in the territories under consideration. As has been pointed out by Emile Girardeau, the French technical expert at the conference, this success well merited the congratulations which it evoked from the French Cabinet of the

time. Since then, in fact, France has shared in such Chinese concessions.

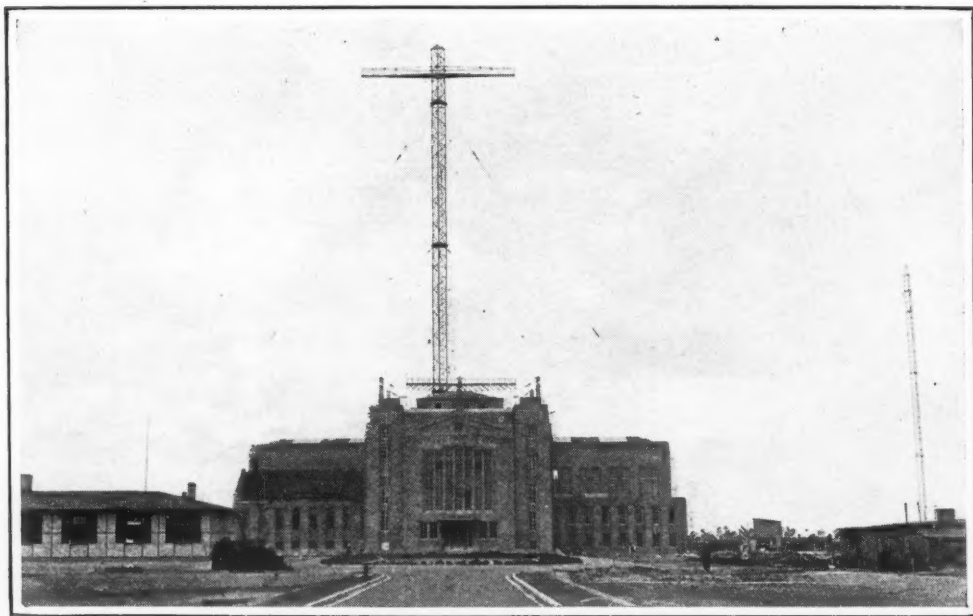
In Russia, where France had acquired a preponderant economic position before the World War, the Soviet Government has of late striven to safeguard its interests. In radio matters these efforts have been crowned with success. Three years after the armistice the Soviet Government approved an agreement consolidating the interests of the French *Compagnie Générale* and the Russian Electro-technical Trust.

Nor did the foreign expansion of the *Compagnie Générale* end with Russia. Owing to its capital and its technical resources, the Italian Radio Company was created in Italy, where the two syndicates have collaborated in the construction of various wireless stations. Moreover, Turkey quite recently awarded to the French a far-reaching contract for wireless installations, the first centres chosen being Constantinople and Angora.

Such are some of the outstanding achievements of France's wireless organizers and engineers operating abroad. Despite the keen competition of foreign syndicates having at their disposal unlimited capital, the French have in the last five years constructed nearly 50 per cent. of

the world's larger radio stations. The results speak well for their science which, although lacking costly equipment, has maintained the prestige of France in foreign countries, thanks partly to the researches of her radio specialists like Branley and Ferrié.

Yet, the strides of the French in this direction have not made them covet a monopoly of the world's radio installations. Rather do they regard the marvelous possibilities of wireless as offering perhaps the most potent influence working for peace among the nations. Thus the French weekly review, *L'Europe Nouvelle*, recently declared editorially that no nation should presume to acquire a monopoly of wireless telegraphy and telephony. On the contrary, all collectivities and all countries ought to develop this marvelous method of transmitting thought, which recognizes no frontiers traced with human blood. According to the same editorial, the Hertzian waves foster a solidarity that leaves no excuse for ignoring the progress of mankind. Perhaps the nation that first comes to realize the universality of wireless telegraphy for the purposes of instruction and amusement will be the first to disseminate in the world its thought and genius.



The great wireless station at Nauen, Germany

# Dying Embers of Bigotry in America

By GEORGE BARTON

Editorial Writer and Publicist

**P**ARADOXICAL as it may sound to say it, the eruption of bigotry which we see in various parts of the country furnishes a most striking proof of the growth of tolerance in the United States. Many good citizens are shocked at the evidences of blind prejudice to be found in certain sections, and they conclude that we are now, for the first time, facing a great national peril. They are mistaken. It is a peril, to be true, but it is not as great as they think, and it is not as dangerous as it has been at times in the past.

To face the situation fairly we have to confess that narrowmindedness, prejudice and racial and religious bigotry have existed in this country from the beginning. It has been said, not without some truth, that the Puritans came to this country in order that they might worship God in their own way, and to compel everybody else to do it in their way. Of the thirteen original Colonies, Maryland was the only one that gave complete liberty of conscience. On April 2, 1649, the General Assembly of Maryland passed an act for "the more quiet and peaceable government of this province" and "the better to preserve mutual love and unity among the inhabitants" by which all those within its boundaries were assured of both civil and religious freedom.

Under this statute no person was to be "troubled or molested for his or her religion, nor in the free exercise thereof, nor anyway compelled to the belief or exercise of any other religion against his or her consent." Bancroft, the historian, speaking of this says:

The design of the law of Maryland was to protect freedom of conscience; and some years afterwards, when it had been confirmed, the apologist of Lord Baltimore could assert that his Government had never given disturbance to any person in Maryland for matters of religion; that the colonists enjoyed freedom of conscience, not less than freedom of person and estate, as amply as ever any people in any place of the world. The disfranchised friends of Prelacy from Mas-

sachusetts and the Puritans from Virginia were welcomed to equal liberty of conscience and political rights in the Roman Catholic Province of Maryland.

Unfortunately this liberality did not exist in other parts of the New World, and still more unfortunately the Puritans, when they came into control of Maryland, "were guilty of the infamous ingratitude of disfranchising the very Catholic settlers by whom they had been so hospitably entertained." Bancroft declares that:

they had neither the gratitude to respect the rights of the Government by which they had been received and fostered, nor magnanimity to continue the toleration to which alone they were indebted for their residence in the Colony. An act concerning religion, forbade liberty of conscience to be extended to "Popery, Prelacy or licentiousness of opinion."

From that day to this intolerance has existed in one form or another in various parts of the United States. For the most part it has slumbered, but when it has broken out many persons have viewed it as the "beginning of bigotry" when, as a matter of fact, it was "the awakening of bigotry." This has manifested itself under various forms at various times. It was part of the Native American political movement. It was shown in the Know Nothing agitation, in the riots of 1844, when Catholic Churches were burned down in Philadelphia, in the A. P. A. uprising and finally in the grotesque Ku Klux Klan of the present day. To each succeeding generation each of these movements has in turn seemed worse than anything of the kind which preceded it. Yet in truth they are becoming the burnt powder of intolerance.

This is not to say that the bigotry existing in the nation is not harmful, but it does mean that once it is brought out in the open it has little chance of lasting success with the majority of the American people. In other words aggressive bigotry can be fought better than the kind which

lurks in ambush. Chief Justice Taft in speaking of this once compared it with the heavy stone which, when lifted after many years, reveals a mass of wriggling worms and crawling insects. The moment the light strikes this mass of creeping things it may be seen scattering in every direction. Let alone it meant decay and death. So it is with bigotry in this country. It cannot stand the light of reason. Take the mask from the Klansman and he becomes as impotent and helpless as Samson after being shorn of his historic locks.

Everybody knows what happened to the Klan when it came into the open of its own accord in the city of Detroit. Mayor Smith was marked for slaughter by the hooded organization. Detroit is the fourth largest city from the standpoint of population in the country. If they had won there the Klansmen proposed to extend their activities to the other large cities of the United States.

But they failed utterly. Mayor Smith was re-elected by a larger majority than he had ever had before. The winner declared that it was "a victory for tolerance led by Protestants." Mayor Smith remains in office as the symbol of a united Detroit. There was rejoicing among Catholics, Jews and Protestants over the fact that it was Protestants who made the victory possible. One of the leading members of the Masonic order in commenting on the result said: "It was best that we Protestants should clean up our own mess. This means that it should stay cleaned. Cleaned by pressure of Catholic, Jewish and Negro votes it might not have stayed cleaned. Out of it all should come a greater feeling of tolerance than we have ever known before. We have the Klan to thank for that." Thus we have a striking proof of my contention that there is a growing tolerance in this country.

One of the most significant illustrations of the new tolerance in this country occurred only a few weeks ago on the occasion of the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the Congregation B'nai Jeshurun in New York City. All creeds were represented at the big dinner given at the Hotel Astor. Rabbi Goldstein declared that the gathering was "a testimonial to America as a land of religious

freedom, political equality and brotherhood." Bishop Manning of the Protestant Episcopal Church hailed it as a sign of the passing of intolerance. Mgr. Thomas G. Carroll, who was present as the personal representative of Cardinal Hayes, said that the meeting but emphasized the passing away of old religious prejudices. Adolph S. Ochs, publisher of The New York Times, declared that such a gathering of men of different faiths—Catholics, Protestants and Jews—was the striking of a note of harmony on the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. It is significant that not one of these men denied or minimized his own faith. They all concurred in the necessity of religion while joining in the cry for the necessity of breaking down the spirit of narrow prejudice. It did not represent religious indifference; it did illustrate religious freedom. It was a milestone on the road toward absolute religious tolerance in this country.

Only a month before this event prominent Jews and Protestants joined with Catholics in dedicating the new \$200,000 club house of the Thomas Dongan Council of the Knights of Columbus at Seventy-sixth Street and Fourth Avenue in Brooklyn. William J. McGinley, Supreme Secretary of the Knights, thanked those outside of his own communion for attending and said that all should join in a movement for the spread of religious tolerance in America. Members of the Bay Ridge Masonic Club presented the Knights with a handsome silk American flag for the use of their new home.

The spirit was shown again in a notable gathering in Washington in December, 1925, when delegates from twenty-six different communions met for the purpose of considering how the churches might co-operate in bringing about world peace. The list of those who attended included bishops, ministers, priests, rabbis, college presidents and professors and representative laymen and women. It was an earnest effort to get together for the common good. The mere fact that men of so many different communions rubbed shoulders did more for the cause of toleration than all of the sermons in the world. It was not the first time that such a thing had happened, of course, but the prominence of the



participants and the fact that it occurred at the capital of the nation gave it unusual significance.

Sometimes very humble persons are the means of creating this spirit of good will and tolerance in communities. A case that comes to mind concerns a negro named John W. Underhill of May's Landing, N. J. He ran a general store there during his lifetime and when he died the people were amazed to learn that he had left a fortune amounting to something like \$100,000. Their amazement was increased when his will was read and they discovered that his fortune had been left to the city for the purpose of providing a public playground and gymnasium for the children. He had set an example of service which was to shine like a beacon light before men. He was personally known to every man, woman and child in the place, but not one of them guessed that the kindly spirit with which he was treated was to come back to May's Landing like bread cast upon the waters. Little wonder that all denominations should have been represented at his public funeral and that addresses should have been made by the pastor of the Methodist Church, the rector of the Episcopal Church and the priest of the Catholic Church.

#### MUTUAL RELIGIOUS ASSISTANCE

Misunderstandings are constantly being wiped out through the broad spirit of charity which is shown by representatives of religious bodies. Catholics, for instance, have sometimes been accused of being hostile to the public school system. They deny this, and say that they simply claim the right to give their own children a religious as well as a secular education. Father Monville of Sharon Hill, Pa., took a more effective way of showing the real Catholic attitude. When the public school at that place was burned down, Father Monville promptly offered the use of his parochial school building to the Board of Education until they had the opportunity of erecting a new structure of their own.

During the same year, when fire destroyed the Catholic Church of the Annunciation in Shenandoah in the same State, the trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church in that town held a special meet-

ing and donated \$1,000 toward a fund for the rebuilding of the edifice. When Father Francis FitzMaurice, rector of St. Joachim's Church in Frankford, in the suburbs of Philadelphia, was buried, his funeral was attended by all the ministers of the other denominations in that place. Again, when a Methodist minister was buried in the town of Renova, Pennsylvania, the Mayor, who happened to be a Catholic, ordered the flag on the City Hall to be placed at half mast, and during the hours of the funeral the bells of the Catholic Church were tolled.

Some years ago, Rev. Gerald P. Coghlan, rector of the Church of Our Lady of Mercy, was given the dignity and title of Monsignor. One of the first to call and offer his congratulations was Rev. Dr. Russell Conwell, pastor of the Baptist Temple, only a few blocks away. When Monsignor Coghlan thanked his Baptist friend for his call, he replied: "You need not thank me. We feel that the Pope in honoring you in this way has honored all of North Philadelphia." Rabbi Krauskaupf, one of the Jewish leaders in Philadelphia, was a warm personal friend of both Monsignor Coghlan and Dr. Conwell. The late Dr. Conwell was also President of Temple College in Philadelphia, and he was fond of saying that a number of the graduates of that college had afterward become priests and rabbis. While I am writing, a letter reaches me which says: "I am a Catholic, I was educated in Temple College and I am now holding a responsible position under a Jewish employer."

What chance has bigotry and prejudice in these circumstances? One cause of much ill-feeling in the past has been the number of alleged ex-priests who have gone about denouncing the Roman Church. Most of these barnstormers are gross impostors. Last November one of them addressed a congregation in Tacoma, Washington. In the midst of his tirade one of the members of the church arose and demanded that he substantiate his claims that he had been a member of the Catholic priesthood. He admitted that he had no proofs and when asked to translate several simple sentences in Latin—words familiar to every priest—he failed lamentably, and in the hisses that followed he

was forced to leave the platform. It need hardly be said that when so-called expriests come to that town in the future they are not likely to get a very hospitable reception. The people there, as in most other places, desire to live in harmony and not in discord.

It will be seen from this brief summary that while bigotry seems to be violent in this country at the present time, it is really growing constantly weaker. Thoughtful persons who carefully study the history of these manifestations of race and religious hatreds cannot but be impressed with the fact that though each succeeding fire starts fiercely it does not last as long as the preceding one.

#### ROOSEVELT ON CATHOLIC PRESIDENT

During the candidacy of William Howard Taft for the Presidency there was a whispering campaign against him on the ground that he was a Unitarian and that his sister-in-law was a member of the Catholic Church. The people, nevertheless, having a sense of humor as well as a sense of decency, elected him. But after the election President Roosevelt, who had been his sponsor, poured the vials of his wrath upon those who sought to divide the American people upon religious grounds. His protest took the form of a letter to an objector in the course of which President Roosevelt called attention to the fact that in his Cabinet at that time there sat men who were of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths, each one chosen because he was peculiarly fitted for the task that had been entrusted to him. The writer of the letter to President Roosevelt said he was sure the mass of the people would not support a man for President who was a Roman Catholic. The author of the Square Deal retorted: "I believe that when you say this you foully slander your fellow-countrymen. I do not for one moment believe that the mass of our fellow-citizens, or any considerable number of them, can be influenced by any such narrow bigotry to refuse to vote for any upright and fit man because he happens to have a particular religious creed."

In the concluding part of this epistle President Roosevelt expressed the belief that in time to come Catholics and Jews

as well as Protestants would be represented in the high office of President of the United States. Since that time other representative men have put the same thought into words. James W. Gerard, former Ambassador to Germany, in a speech in New York City, said that he hoped the day would come when one of the major parties would see fit to nominate for President a Catholic or a Jew in order to dispose of this bugaboo. United States Senator William Cabell Bruce of Maryland, in a notable letter to The New York Times, discussing the candidacy of Governor Smith for the Presidency said that although a Protestant he would prefer to see a Catholic elected to the office. "Once elect a Catholic as President of the United States," he declared, "and we would never hear anything more about Catholics and Protestants in connection with the office."

The Springfield Republican in a stirring editorial declared that one of the most wholesome things that could now happen in the United States would be to have an excellent, broad-visioned, tolerant Catholic President in office long enough to demonstrate that a Catholic is no more to be feared as President than a Catholic is to be feared as Chief Justice of the United States. The editor of that newspaper insisted that the constitutional guarantees of full religious liberty would never be fully vindicated until all the Protestant sects divested themselves of this prejudice.

President Coolidge made a plea for tolerance in one of his recent speeches which caused a most favorable reaction throughout the country. In his message to the present Congress he declared that bigotry of race was unworthy of the American people. "Bigotry," he said, "is only another name for slavery. It reduces to serfdom not only those against whom it is directed, but also those who seek to apply it."

Viewed in a wide way we must conclude that the power of bigotry is waning in this country. There may be individual and sectional instances to the contrary, but generally speaking the candle of intolerance is spluttering in its socket, so far as the United States is concerned. I venture to predict that in a generation from now it will be practically unknown in the public life of the nation.

# Germany's State and Church Struggle for School Control

By ADOLPH E. MEYER

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**H**ISTORICALLY speaking the struggle between Church and State for school control which has been disturbing Germany for the past seven years is an outgrowth of the various attempts to put into effect some of the educational and religious articles of the Federal Constitution.

The present German Constitution, adopted in August, 1919, provides in its third section for the regulation and control of "Religion and Religious Bodies." Article 135 of this section guarantees that every resident of Germany "shall enjoy entire freedom of faith and conscience." The same article, moreover, assures "the undisturbed practice of religion under the protection of the State." In the subsequent article 136 the Constitution states that "no person may be forced to take part in any religious act or ceremony, or to be present at any religious service." Article 137, although it recognizes and guarantees the right of free assembly for religious purposes, nevertheless definitely abolishes the State Church.

From these few illustrations it becomes evident that, although the German Constitution gives to religion and religious bodies certain guarantees, it also imposes upon them certain checks. Attempting as it does to satisfy the demands of all contending political factions the German Constitution is compelled to pursue a middle path. The same element of compromise underlies the educational articles of the new Constitution, whose framers were constrained to steer between the extreme demands of the Socialists on the one hand and those of the Clericals on the other.

As in the days of the Empire, religion is still regarded by the present Constitution as part of the curriculum which every school is required to teach. The pupil, however, is not compelled to take religion; nor is the teacher forced to teach it. Para-

graph 2 of Article 146 provides that on demand of parents or guardians communities shall have the right to establish schools according to the particular religious creed or views of the school patrons—always provided, of course, that the regular school program shall not be jeopardized. It was according to these guiding principles of the national Constitution that the various German States were to enact their individual State school laws. National legislation fixing detailed regulations was also to be expected in the course of time.

Following these principles there were established in Germany various kinds of schools. There is for instance the thoroughgoing non-denominational school, fostered and defended by the Socialists, in which no religion whatsoever is taught. A compromise school was the "simultan" school. Here children of all creeds are taught together, but receive separate religious instruction in their respective creeds. It was hoped at the time of the framing of the Constitution that the "simultan" school would eventually be Germany's established school. Hence an earnest attempt was made to construct as democratic a curriculum as possible. Unfortunately the "simultan" school, although it unquestionably works, nevertheless pleases nobody. Socialists are against it because it is not entirely secularized. The clergy are opposed to it because, while providing for separate denominational religious instruction, it does not teach the regular subjects from a denominational standpoint.

In its effort to give guidance to the various States the Federal Constitution endeavored to be broad. Throughout the various articles there is evidence of a salutary attempt to afford equality for children of all classes and creeds. Unfortunately the very breadth of the Constitution has resulted in a vagueness which has given rise to much bitter controversy. It is, of course, well

known that in Germany political and religious issues are frequently interwoven. In the enactment of school legislation—national as well as State—German political parties have played no minor rôle. Most of the recent national legislation has taken on the form of a compromise between the Centre Party and the Socialists. Such a compromise each party has assumed to be only a tentative solution which in the long run may be turned to the particular advantage of each of the respective parties. While both parties have distinct educational platforms, the Socialist Party usually adheres to its economic program and makes concessions in educational matters; the Centre Party, on the other hand, is always intransigent in educational matters and contests bitterly any interference in what it deems its educational rights.

Each of these political parties has attempted to turn the vague generalities of the Constitution to its own particular advantage. Sensational rather than important were the short-lived Hoffmann decrees of November, 1918, by which the first Minister of Education, the Prussian Independent Socialist Adolf Hoffmann, vetoed religious instruction and school prayers and removed religion from the list of subjects for examination. Hoffmann's régime, however, was brief. His Cabinet fell and his successor as Minister of Education prudently worked for the nullification of the offensive decrees. By the Spring of the following year the Hoffmann decrees had passed into oblivion.

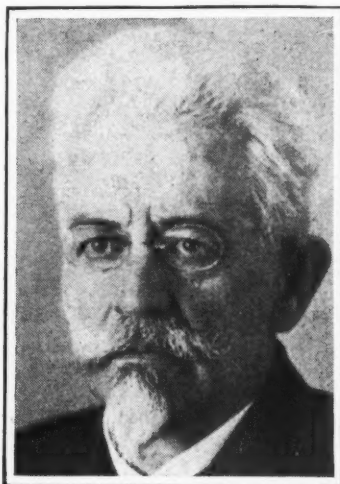
In Saxony, where the Socialists were especially strong, religion was for a time completely eliminated from the school curriculum. However, with the advent of reaction, religion was once more restored in a number of schools. The question as

to whether a child should have religious instruction is in accordance with the constitutional requirement left to the decision of the parents. As often happens, however, cases arise wherein parents disagree. In such an event the State law of Saxony required a judge to appoint some disinterested person to decide the question. Should the child have been between the ages of ten and twelve its own opinion was to be heard and seriously considered; and children over twelve years of age were to be permitted to decide the question for themselves even against the will and opinion of both parents.

Standing out in sharp opposition to the progressive freedom prevailing in Saxony is the conservatism to be found in Bavaria. This undoubtedly is due to the clerical complexion of Bavaria in contrast to Saxony's strong industrialism. Before the revolution school supervision in Bavaria had been largely in the hands of the clergy. In fact, in the rural districts the clergy absolutely domi-

nated the school teacher, who for the most part held a decidedly inferior position. The teachers' subserviency to the local minister or priest caused his frequent impressment into the service of the church. Thus up to 1920 the rural school teacher of Bavaria was required to play the organ, to lead the church choir, and if—as usually was the case—he happened to be a Catholic, he was often made to act as the priest's first assistant in the ceremony of the mass.

To find a condition in American education somewhat comparable to this situation in Bavaria one has to go back to the seventeenth century. As a matter of fact between the various services required of the seventeenth century colonial schoolmaster and those required of the twentieth century school teacher in rural Bavaria there is an unusual degree of similarity. This anomaly



ADOLF HOFFMANN

The German Independent Socialist who as Minister of Education attempted to abolish religion in the schools of Germany



lous situation in Bavaria, however, has fortunately been changed. True it is, of course, that the Bavarian country schoolmaster still performs some of these ecclesiastical duties, but in most cases this is due to his own choice rather than to any form of coercion. In all cases where he performs such additional service the teacher must now be adequately recompensed.

The German Constitution has also abolished clerical school supervision, thereby removing from the hands of the clergy a most powerful instrument of control. It is this constitutional enactment which has in large measure prevented the clergy—Protestant as well as Catholic—from regaining their former grip upon the school. And yet even today in Bavaria the power of the clergy in education is by no means small, and actually seems to be growing stronger. There is, of course, the legislative provision that in accordance with the wishes of parents a child need not receive religious instruction. But in Bavaria such a child is the exception rather than the rule. In Munich there were in 1922 approximately less than one-third of 1 per cent. of the

total number of school children that refused to take religion.

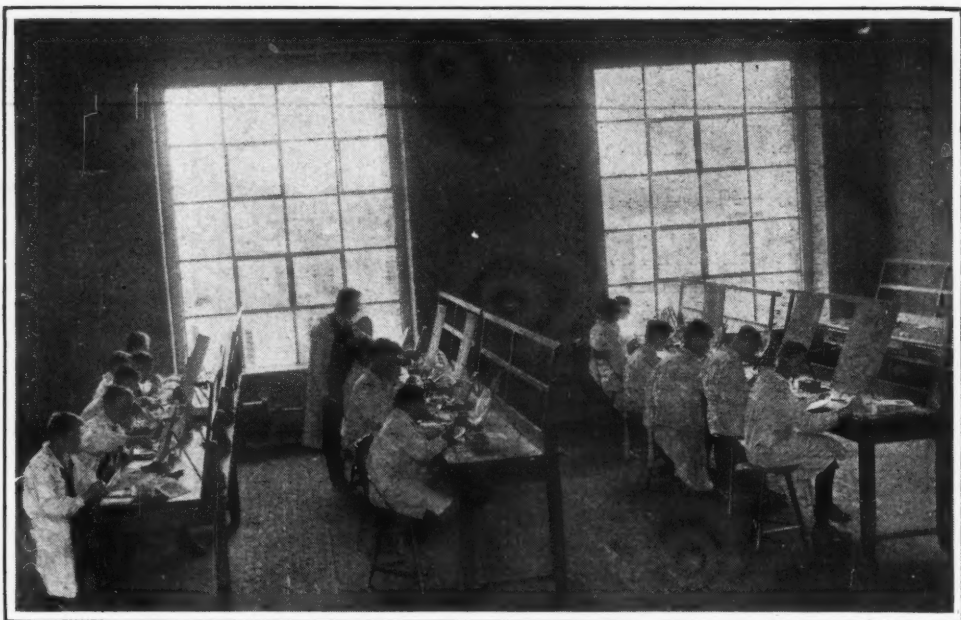
Having been shorn of the most important instrument of school control the Bavarian religious parties are waging a vigorous campaign against the present form of State education. Especially against the "simultan" school have the Clericals adopted aggressive tactics. By various subtle devices the clergy have been striving to undermine the public school and to influence parents to keep their children at home. The boldest stroke yet attempted occurred in 1922 when, as a protest against the "simultan" school, there was ordered by some of the priests a school strike in which parents were requested to keep their children away from school. Needless to say the attempt failed.

For Americans it is perhaps difficult to grasp the full significance of this struggle between Church and State and to understand the reason for so much bitterness. Yet the relationship between Church and State in German education is undoubtedly one of the most important domestic problems before the German people today. The



Wide World Photos

Garden on the roof of a Berlin school building



A German art school

question is still further aggravated by the fact that in accordance with the public education law private preparatory schools (*private Vorschulen*) are to be gradually abolished. Even in America an attempt to compel all children to attend the public school by the abolition of the private school would be fraught with serious consequences. When the Church and the school become involved in controversy the result is always extreme bitterness. Our recent Tennessee case gives us but a faint idea of this tendency. In Germany the division is much more sharply marked. Passion and partisanship are much more intense. The struggle between Church and State for supremacy in German education has aroused the people's feelings very much as did the slavery and State's rights questions in American history.

#### SECTARIAN SCHOOL PROPOSALS

The most recent attempt at national school legislation was in the form of a bill prepared under the direction of Minister Schiele of the recent Luther Cabinet. This bill sought to re-establish the denominational school in Germany. The proposed legislation represented an alliance between the Catholic and Protestant Churches in an

effort to bring about sectarian education. Contrary to the Constitution the spirit of this educational bill was entirely denominational. Teachers, curricula and books were to be controlled, not by the State, but by religious associations. Educational supervision would have reverted to the clergy, Catholics to have been under the authority of Catholic superiors and Protestants under that of Protestant superiors. Neither would have been under the supervision of the layman. The bill further provided that in school districts where forty or more children made the request for religious instruction a school should be established by the State with Protestant or Catholic religious education according to the wishes of the majority.

In the light of the history of Church-school legislation since the establishment of the German Republic it should be easy to understand that such an enactment would meet with tremendous opposition. Almost immediately the Allgemeine Deutsche Lehrerinnenverein (General German Women Teachers' Union) of Dresden voiced a decisive protest against the proposed law. Believing that in public education the State should at all times be supreme this Dresden

organization demanded that the freedom guaranteed to the teacher under the Constitution should be protected. The proposed legislation, it maintained, was contrary to the spirit and letter of the Constitution. The organization opposed the bill because (1) the State thereby surrendered its control over the public school to the Church; (2) it made the denominational school the established German school; (3) it fostered sectarianism; (4) it seriously interfered with the teachers' liberty of thought; (5) it would cause the establishment of many little sectarian schools and thus impede the development of the entire school system. Concerning this last point it is interesting to point out that this is exactly what is happening today in Holland, where the sectarian private school is supported by public taxation.

A convention of more than one thousand teachers at Brunswick passed resolutions of protest against the proposed law on the ground that such an act would be quite contrary to the Constitution, which had put education under the supervision of the State. The very active and well-known society of *Entschiedene Schulreformer* (radical or thoroughgoing school reformers) also took part in a very emphatic demonstration against the new law. At this meeting Professor Seyfert, former Minister of Education in Saxony, voiced the opinion that "in the present situation we are further away from the idea of freedom than ever before. \* \* \* We are fighting the claim of the Church for jurisdiction over fields to which it has no rights."

#### SUPPORTERS OF THE BILL

Among the supporters of the bill were the majority of German religious societies, members of the Catholic Centre, the Monarchists and a scattering here and there among various Conservatives. The Evan-

gelischer Schulverein (Evangelical School Society) of Saxony was in favor of the proposed enactment because it saw in it the establishment of a sectarian institution under the control of the Church, whose manifest duty it was, they held, to supervise religious instruction.

That this bitterly disputed bill never became law was due to a cumulation of circumstances in which politics played an important part. The bill, which had been drawn up by the Nationalist Schiele, had the tacit support of the People's Party. However, when the actual provisions of the proposed law were made public, the People's Party, perceiving the widespread opposition to the bill, seized time by the forelock and came out against the proposed legislation. Its leaders, Stresemann and Boelitz, publicly declared their opposition. Even some of the Nationalists drifted away from their former support of Minister Schiele. And thus as time went on Schiele gradually found himself deserted, his principal supporters having forsaken him.

What finally defeated the measure, however, was the Locarno Treaty. It will be remembered that Schiele was one of the three Nationalist members of the Luther Cabinet who resigned their portfolios as a protest against the ratification of the Locarno pact. With Schiele out of office the chances of the bill were, of course, hopeless, especially in the face of the widespread opposition on the part of practically all other German political parties with the exception of the Centrists and a few extreme Conservatives.

Although the struggle is still a source of bitterness, nevertheless for the present and the immediate future at least, Germany will continue to adhere to the liberal and Democratic provisions laid down in the educational clauses of her Constitution.



# Spain on the Road to Prosperity

By  
**PRIMO DE RIVERA**  
Premier of Spain.



**S**PAIN, so often slandered by those who judge her by the eventful course of her history and the vast influence which that history had upon the world, wishes to see justice done to her present moral status, to her development, to her national character, filled with chivalry, noble virtues and humanitarian sentiments. Spain is certainly no longer the country which an unjust and sinister legend seemed to be isolating from the rest of the world. Her frontiers are now open to all ideas, to all projects of improvement, to all visitors. These visitors themselves, when animated by a spirit of fairness, have been our best propagandists, testifying to the qualities of the race and to the progress now being recorded.

In Spain, as in many other countries, politics, it may be admitted, has led to corruption. Even men actuated by the best of intentions were unable to avoid its consequences and Parliament, theoretically an admirable institution, became an obstacle to the life and aspirations of the nation. Personal or local interests, passions and excesses, not only made labor sterile, but also set a bad example to our citizens. These conditions, which were universally admitted, finally led the Spanish people to seek to remedy them and this was the origin of the movement that arose on Sept. 13, 1923, and which was begun by the army and navy, supported by the

country, approved by the King, received with amazement by the politicians, who had no conception, or else a totally wrong conception of all the emotions fermenting in the nation's soul. The authors of the reform, after two years of effort, after having stopped up many drains and remedied many evils, took on that day the first step toward re-establishing normality in the political situation by presenting to the King for his approval a civilian ministry, including two eminent professors, a magistrate of the highest prestige, a famous engineer and other elements of no less importance.

The task confronting these men is no mean one, and to fulfill it successfully they must maintain, probably throughout the whole duration of their tenure of office, which logically should not be less than two or three years, the exceptional status or régime of restricted rights decreed by the Military Directorate, though with such modifications as may be expected from a civilian Government.

The Government over which I preside by his Majesty's will, has set itself two tasks, one cultural, the other economic. The object of the first will be to teach the citizens clearly and precisely what their duties and rights are before their vote, which will be an expression of their opinions, will be demanded by new elections. The object of the second undertaking will



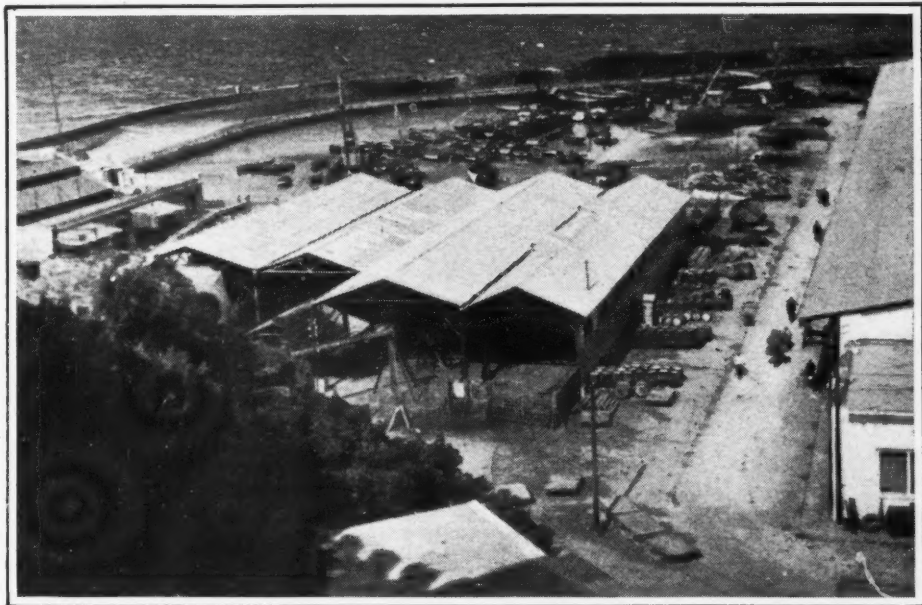
be to strengthen, both within and outside of Spain, the nation's commercial credit by giving to its currency the value that it should have as being the best guaranteed in the whole world owing to the gold reserves possessed by the Bank of Spain covering its responsibility for emissions of bank notes, which are very moderate if the amplitude of these reserves be taken into consideration.

It will, however, be difficult for Spain to make up for the small amount of progress achieved by certain of her industries if this progress be compared with that of the same industries in other countries. We shall therefore be compelled to draw upon foreign production.

There is one problem which is a source of grave preoccupation for Spain, but the solution of which now seems near, viz., the situation in Morocco, of which I should like to say a word. The Moroccan question represents a heavy burden which Spain was compelled to assume because of her geographic position and her political traditions and the obligations of which she loyally fulfilled despite the gigantic economic effort which those obligations imposed. For this she needs the aid and the

sympathy of all Europe, which can not and should not allow itself to be blindly deceived by those hostile and deliberately calculated reports which strive to depict an army which is a model of bravery and discipline as a cruel horde which has fallen upon the natives of Morocco to martyrize them. These natives, on the contrary, have received only benefits from the Spanish Nation, which has treated them with the utmost humanity, as is proved daily by the thousands of natives, both in the cities and in the country, who live in peaceful relations with our troops, for whom they have sentiments of the warmest friendship.

Only the revolt of Abd-el-Krim, a revolt encouraged by a number of adventurers whom it enriched, still obstructs the task which Spain has set herself and which she is successfully achieving, with the frank and loyal collaboration of France and with the hope that if all the nations of Europe, all equally interested to see Morocco opened to civilization and commerce, cease lending material and moral aid to an unjustified rebellion, it will be speedily suppressed. Freed from this obstacle, Spain will be able to advance proudly on the road which the common future of humanity unrolls before her.



The jetty, Port of Tangier

Photo by May Mott-Smith

# Payment of the French Loans to the United States, 1777-1795

By SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS

Professor of History and Head of the Department of History, George Washington University, Washington, D. C.; author of "Jay's Treaty: A Study in Commerce and Diplomacy," and other historical works.

The following two articles, which supplement one another, analyze historically the debt negotiations that occurred between the United States and France during the period following the American Revolution and embracing, in the later stages, the great revolutionary upheaval in France. These articles have special significance in view of present parallels created by France's delay in funding her debt to the United States contracted during the World War. On more than one occasion France has used the a priori argument based on historical precedent—viz., the time when the situation was reversed and when it was the United States who owed France and found it similarly difficult to pay.

THE present debt of France to the United States, arising out of American governmental loans during the recent World War, gives a renewed interest to the financial assistance which France rendered to this nation during the war of American independence.

There is one thing about the American Revolution on which American, British and French historians—Channing, Van Tyne, Trevelyan, Doniol, Fay, Aulard—are agreed. That is, that French intervention was indispensable to the success of the American cause. French military and naval assistance contributed directly to the victory at Yorktown, which brought the war to a victorious close; but the war would never have reached the stage where a thing like Yorktown was possible had it not been for assistance in money for the purchase of munitions and supplies with which Washington's army had been able to keep the field. The recent instructive study of Dr. O. W. Stephenson on the powder supply during the American Revolution shows that nine-tenths of all the powder used by the American armies before the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga was furnished from France. This supply was possible because the French Government, for well-calculated reasons of its own, based on self-interest, as no serious historian will deny, saw fit to supply the money through which the munitions were purchased.

As is well known to any reader of the

history of the American Revolution, it was the policy of the French not to intervene until there seemed a fair chance of doing so with complete success, or until it was evident that without that intervention the Americans would be likely to patch up some sort of a peace with England which would end the golden opportunity to split apart the British Empire. That decisive movement came when news of the battle of Saratoga arrived in Paris. Before Saratoga it had been the policy of France to keep the flames of insurrection alive in America by supplying secret subsidies to be used in the purchase in France of munitions. Saratoga brought the treaties of alliance and of commerce and amity on Feb. 8, 1778, open intervention by France on the side of the United States against the traditional enemy. It eventually brought Spain into the war in the train of France, and it resulted in the armed neutrality of 1780, the belligerency of the Netherlands and the alignment of the trading and maritime nations of Europe against Britain. All this was the dividend paid by the French monarchy's secret investments in powder and supplies for the struggling American insurrectionists in the years before Saratoga.

Before the open belligerency of France every effort was made to keep secret the financial assistance being covertly rendered to the Americans. The brilliant playwright and courtier, Caron de Beaumarchais, was allowed to establish a fic-

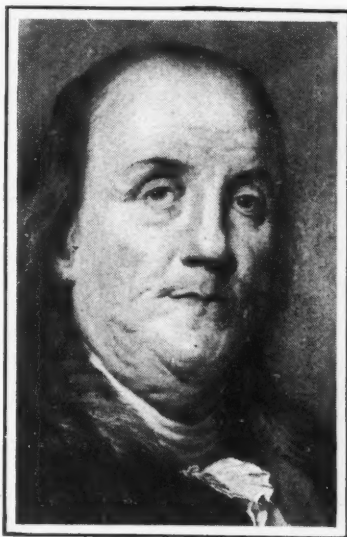
titious business house under the name of Rodrigue Hortalez & Co. for the purpose of laying a pipe-line from the French treasury and arsenal to the American Colonies. Assistance of this nature by a neutral Government to a belligerent was a plain violation of neutrality, but there was nothing in international law, then or now, to stop a private merchant from rendering it. So the French monarchy furnished Beaumarchais with the capital to start a business of selling munitions to the Americans. Later the French King granted subsidies and loans to the United States for the purpose of buying such munitions. The effort was made to cover up as much as possible these previous violations of neutrality in our favor.

After victory of the allies had become apparent, Benjamin Franklin, our peerless diplomatist at the Court of Louis XVI, in 1782 suggested to the Comte de Vergennes, the Foreign Minister, that it would be well to have an exact statement of the financial aid rendered to the United States, setting down what had been given and what had been loaned. He was getting to be a very old man, said Franklin—a frequent statement of his when wishing to accelerate a settlement of any kind—and he did not care to have death befall him while these important financial affairs, with which he had been personally connected, were in any uncertain condition. It was a result of these conversations between Franklin and Vergennes that a statement of loans was made, and a funding agreement was contracted between the two plenipotentiaries, July 16, 1782, which was later ratified by the Continental Congress. Upon the signature of the preliminary articles of peace between the United States and Great Britain, Sept. 30, 1782, another final loan of of 6,000,000 livres (a livre was,

approximately a franc) was made. Terms for its repayment were agreed upon in a contract drawn up and signed on Feb. 25, 1783, and duly ratified by Congress. In this latter document there occurs a complete statement of money assistance by France, analyzed into loans and free gifts. Since this is the contract under which the United States was formally obligated, it is necessary to quote the essential Article II:

For better understanding the fixing of periods for the reimbursement of the six millions at the Royal Treasury, and to prevent all ambiguity on this head, it has been found proper to recapitulate here the amount of the preceding aids granted by the King to the United States, and to distinguish them according to their different classes. The first is composed of sums lent successively by his Majesty, amounting in the whole to the sum of eighteen millions livres, reimbursed in specie at the Royal Treasury in twelve equal portions of a million, five hundred thousand livres each, besides the interest, and in twelve years, to commence from the third year after the date of peace, the interest, beginning to reckon at the date of the peace, to be discharged annually, shall diminish in proportion to the reimbursement of the capital, the last payment of which shall expire in the year 1798.

The second class comprehends the loan of five million Dutch florins, amounting, by a moderate valuation, to ten millions livres tournois, the said loan made in Holland in 1781, for the service of the United States of North America, under the engagement of the King to refund the capital, with interest at 4 per cent. per annum, at the general counter of the States General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, in ten equal portions, reckoning from the sixth year of the date of the said loan, and under the like engagement on the part of the Minister of Congress, and in behalf of the thirteen United States, to reimburse the ten millions of said loan in ready money at the Royal Treasury, with interest at 4 per cent. per annum, in ten equal portions of a million each, and in ten periods from year to year: the first of which shall take place in the month of November, 1787, and the last in the same month, 1796. The whole conformable to the con-



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN  
Born 1706; American diplomatic  
representative in France and Eng-  
land, 1776-85; died 1790

ditions expressed in the contract of the 16th of July, 1782.

In the third class are comprehended the aids and subsidies furnished to the Congress of the United States, under the title of gratuitous assistance, from the pure generosity of the King, three millions of which were granted before the treaty of February, 1778, and six millions in 1781; which aids and subsidies amount in the whole to nine million livres tournois. His Majesty here confirms, in the case of need, the gratuitous gift to the Congress of the said thirteen United States.

The next article proceeded to lay down the terms for the repayment of this last loan of 6,000,000 livres, namely, in six equal portions of a million each annually, with interest at 5 per cent., beginning in 1797. The interest was to run from Jan. 1, 1784, and payments on it were due annually from the United States starting with Jan. 1, 1785, and thereafter until refunded, diminishing in proportion to the reimbursement to France of the capital borrowed.

In addition to the gratuitous gifts above indicated of 9,000,000 livres, certain abatements of interest during wartime were allowed. All interest accumulating before the date of the treaty of peace on the 18,000,000 livres mentioned in Paragraph 1 of the above quoted article had been canceled; and all interest on the last 1783 loan which would have accumulated before Jan. 1, 1784, was canceled. This cancellation of interest amounted in addition to the gratuitous subsidies to another pure gift of the King of France. Since the interest rate on the first 18,000,000 was not fixed until the refunding contract (it then being placed at 5 per cent.) we cannot figure with precision what that canceled interest amounted to. Professor Latané quotes Franklin's estimate of it at "near two millions of livres." Professor Aulard, in his illuminating articles in the *Revue de Paris*, wherein the history of the American debt is traced from sources in the French archives, with perfect scholarship and impartiality, puts it at 1,500,000 livres.

That is to say, France in making funding arrangements with the United States for repayment of the moneys borrowed did what the United States did in the recent funding agreement negotiated with Belgium, remitted war-time interest charges—that and also several months'

peace-time interest accruing during 1782 and 1783, in the case of the last 6,000,000 loan.

The annual interest on the 10,000,000 livres borrowed by France for the United States and guaranteed by France was not canceled. It ran from the date of the loan, 1781, and the United States contracted to pay to France, or transfer to the Netherlands, the annual interest charges beginning Nov. 1, 1782.

#### SUMS GIVEN AND LOANED

A tabulated statement of our gifts from France and our obligations to France, as fixed by the final funding contract of 1783, may now be presented, as totaled by Professor Latané from information derived from the funding contracts, noting the difference between his estimate and that of Professor Aulard, in respect to the total of canceled interest charges:

##### ABSOLUTE GIFTS

	Livres.
1776, June 10.....	1,000,000
1777 .....	2,000,000
1781 .....	6,000,000

Add to this the canceled interest, between 1,500,000 (Aulard's estimate) and "near 2,000,000" (Franklin's estimate), and we have approximately a total subsidy by the King of France of between 9,500,000 and 10,000,000 livres. Reckoning the livre at 18.15 cents, 10,000,000 livres equal \$1,850,000.

##### LOANS

	Livres.
1777 .....	1,000,000
1778, advanced in 21 instalments, 1778-1782 .....	18,000,000
1781, obtained under French guaranty from the Netherlands.....	10,000,000
1783 .....	6,000,000
	<hr/> 35,000,000

At the then existing rate of exchange the total amount loaned equals \$6,352,500. France gave us \$1,850,000 and loaned us \$6,352,500.

When the contract recapitulating loans and gifts was signed by Franklin it represented 3,000,000 livres as having been given before the open intervention of France. Franklin on later examining his



own accounts could find evidence of receipt of only 2,000,000. Where was the lost million? In vain Franklin importuned the financial agent of the French Government to explain the nature of this third million and where it had gone. Actually, it had been turned over to Beaumarchais as a starter to his fictitious commercial enterprise. This was revealed, together with Beaumarchais's receipt, only in 1793, after the French Revolution had opened up the archives of the Ancien Régime, but Vergennes, during his time, hesitated to reveal to the world such a manifest violation of neutrality as this would have indicated, even though the American funding agreement already had shown great help in money by the King to the United States before Feb. 8, 1778.

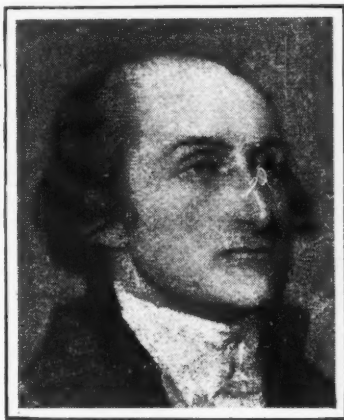
Congress later, despite a contract for purchase from Beaumarchais of material furnished by him, refused to pay him or his heirs, on the ground that this receipt by him of money from the French King was proof that Louis XVI's Government had really intended all the time that what came from Beaumarchais should be regarded as also furnished free through the generosity of the French monarch. There is no evidence to show that Beaumarchais was not entitled to sell, rather than to give, to Congress the supplies he furnished, and that the money received by him from the King of France (the King of Spain had also contributed 1,000,000 livres in 1777) was nothing more than what was required to set the business in motion and provide for the overhead expense and loss of cargoes and ships by British captures. To the shame of Congress, Beaumarchais was never fully paid. In 1835 the claim of his heirs, based on his contract with Congress, amounted to 4,689,241 francs. The heirs felt forced to accept in full payment by Congress the sum of 810,000 francs.

It is pertinent to mention at this place

that the United States, during the years 1782 to 1789, borrowed from the Dutch Government (in 1782 about \$2,000,000) and from Dutch bankers a total sum of \$3,600,000, at 4 and 5 per cent. interest, first annual instalments of payment of principal falling due in 1789 and various regular periods thereafter. This was in addition to the above-explained 10,000,000 livres borrowed in 1781 from the Netherlands through France and guaranteed by that latter power, which is properly classed as a loan from France.

How were the official loans of the King of France—that is, the French Nation—the 35,000,000 livres, or \$6,352,500, paid?

Every one knows of the complete bankruptcy of the United States Government during the period 1783 to 1789, before the imperfect Articles of Confederation gave way to the Government under the present Constitution. Congress could call upon the



JOHN JAY

The first Secretary of State of the United States (born 1745, died 1829)

several States for contributions of taxes equal to the quotas levied on them, but there was no way of enforcing collection. Only with the greatest difficulty were the meager running expenses of the Congress and the expenses of our Ministers abroad defrayed, and this mostly through the few small loans which were with difficulty made from Amsterdam banking houses. Payment of interest on United States bonds ceased. The bonds themselves sank to abysmal levels. With the greatest exertions Robert Morris managed to meet some of the early interest payments due on the Dutch loan which France had underwritten. Even these ceased after 1785. Meanwhile, the 1st of January, 1786, was approaching, when the first payments of principal as well as accrued interest (some due in 1785) on the French loans would fall due.

There is in the Library of Congress, Manuscripts Division, a rare broadside, which contains a complete schedule of pay-

ments indicating dates and amounts due, year by year, from 1786 to 1807, of these French and Dutch loans. It reminds one very much of the schedule of payments which has been worked out in some of the present-day funding agreements with European Governments.

On Jan. 1, 1786, there fell due payment of two years' interest charges on the last French loan, the 6,000,000 livres loaned to Franklin in 1782. This amounted to \$111,111.10. On Feb. 1 \$32,800 was due in interest on one of the Dutch loans. On June 1 \$100,000 was due in interest on another Dutch loan. On Nov. 5 \$74,074 interest was due on the Franco-Dutch loan of 10,000,000 livres already described. These annual interest charges continued the next year, when also came due the first payment of a million and a half livres, or \$277,777.70, on the principal of the French loan; and also first payment of principal of the Franco-Dutch loan. The schedule shows that from 1786 to 1793 there was due annually between \$800,000 and \$850,000 on the services of these loans. From 1793 to 1797 the charges ran between \$1,000,000 and \$1,670,000; from 1798 to 1807, when all payments would have been completed, the annual charges ran between \$168,000 and \$566,188.

It was easy enough for Congress to draw up a neat schedule of annual payments, interest and principal when they fell due; but it was impossible to provide moneys to make the payment. Between 1786 and 1790, so far as I have been able to ascertain, no payments, either of interest or principal, were made on any of the foreign loans as due in these funding agreements, or paid in any way whatsoever.

#### HAMILTON PARTLY FUNDS DEBTS

One of the first solicitudes of Alexander Hamilton, who as Secretary of the Treasury in President Washington's first Administration re-established American credit almost overnight from the worst in the world to the best in the world, was to provide for payments of instalments due and arrears accumulated on our foreign debts. Acts of Congress of Aug. 4 and 12, 1790, enabled Hamilton to make further loans from Dutch bankers with which to take up obligations long since due in Paris and

Amsterdam. These loans, thanks to the new solvency of the United States, he made at reasonable rates of interest. In November, 1790, a payment of 2,171,637 livres was made by the United States at the Royal French Treasury for sums due in the year 1786. In December, 1790, another payment on account, totaling 1,440,362 livres, was made. The payment was tendered in an altogether unostentatious manner, and was noted in none of the French newspapers or periodicals of the time, though it was a most valuable financial acquisition during the pecuniary distresses of the Revolution then raging in France. It came as a complete surprise to the French Government. The correspondence of the French Foreign Office with its diplomatic representatives in the United States shows that, although proper means were taken to keep the debt alive, there was little hope of ever collecting it, even though the French Ministers reported from New York that there was a universal sentiment in the United States regarding the sacred title of France to repayment. No responsible personality of the time, or even an irresponsible one, so far as I know, ever spoke of repudiating that obligation. But everybody realized that, under the Articles of Confederation, nothing could be done. The French Ministers so reported. It is certain, from the instructions of the French Foreign Office to representatives in the United States, that France preferred to see a weak and divided confederation in the United States rather than a vigorous central and national Government capable of enforcing collection of the taxes necessary to pay the Revolutionary debt.

The Constitution of the United States thus was not a consummation devoutly to be wished by France. But the circumstances of the French Revolution and the demands for money created by the foreign wars which began in 1792 as the sequel to that upheaval made it very fortunate for France that the new Government of the United States Constitution, and the financial program of Hamilton under Washington's Presidency had created in this country a solvent Government, paying up its back debts and meeting the new ones with unexceptionable promptness. It must have been a delightful surprise to the financiers

of the French Revolution to have suddenly coming into their notoriously hollow money chest this American gold. France was soon eager to discount in some way the money due in the future, or if possible even to secure it in advance payment.

#### ADVANCE PAYMENTS REFUSED TO REVOLUTION

Such advance payment of instalments before actually due was made in one instance. In 1792 there had been advanced from the Treasury, against the advice of Hamilton, who was hostile in every pore to the French Revolution, to Ternant, the French Minister at Philadelphia, the sum of 4,000,000 livres (\$760,000), for relief work for French refugees from the Colony of San Domingo and other relief work in that island, where the terrible negro slave insurrection had practically wiped out the European population.

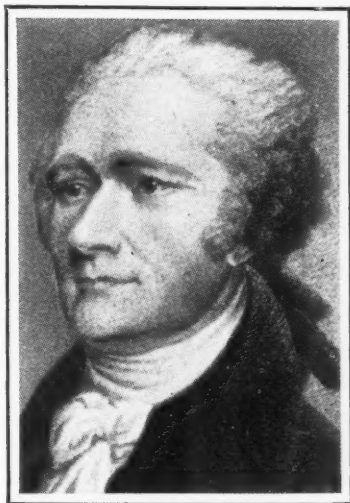
The question of advance payments came up vividly during the mission of Edmond Charles Edouard Genet, the celebrated Minister of the Provisional Government of the French Republic, sent to the United States in 1793 to secure from the American ally as benevolent a neutrality as possible during the war between France and Great Britain. One of Genet's purposes, of course, was to purchase stores of munitions and military supplies, as well as foodstuffs, in America to send to France for the service of the armies in the field. He sought in this instance no more than what the United States had asked from France seventeen years before. Another purpose was to recruit under French commissions an army of Western frontiersmen to descend the Mississippi from Kentucky against Great Britain's ally, Spain, and to take from that enemy of France the colony of Louisiana and the port of New Orleans. The story of Genet's intrigues and of his

final attempt to modify American neutrality by appealing over the heads of Washington's Government to the people is so familiar to all general readers of American history that it need not be mentioned here, except to recall that it brought a speedy request by the United States for his recall. He was soon replaced. But the relation of Genet's mission to the French debt has received less attention. It is a chapter of the history of that debt.

Genet's instructions ordered him to solicit the advance payment

of the remaining debt, which then amounted to \$2,461,513. On Jan. 1, 1794, there was due France a balance of \$2,461,513.61. (See American State Papers, Finance, 1, 293.) After May 22, 1793, the date of Genet's application, there was due France during 1793, \$575,925.73. (See Schedule of Payments of French and Dutch Loans, Continental Congress Broad-sides, Library of Congress.) Thus there was due to France after May 22, 1793, a total of \$3,187,513.61. Deducting from this the \$726,000 furnished for French relief in San Domingo

(Jefferson, Writings, Ford ed., VI, 161) we have left \$2,461,513.61. These figures would probably not tally precisely with the French account by reason of divergent estimates of depreciation through early payments in assignats, and interest on advanced payments in 1792. This balance was to be expended by France in the United States "in purchasing provisions, naval stores and in fulfilling other particular services." The debt could be paid, it was suggested, either in cash, in bank notes, the equivalent of cash, or United States bonds. The money thus available would be disbursed by French purchasing agents in different sections in order to make the proceeding advantageous to the whole country. In this way the French Executive Council hoped to help finance



ALEXANDER HAMILTON  
The first Secretary of the Treasury, from 1789 to 1795 (born 1757, died 1804)

the war against England by defraying the expenses of Genet's mission, which included the fitting out of privateers, the sending of provisions and naval stores, even of contraband, to France, and the financing of such expeditions as those already being organized in the West against Louisiana.

Providing that the Government kept vigilant guard against violation of its neutrality and that it limited the scope of Genet's activity accordingly, it was not unreasonable for a nation which during several years never even paid the interest on an overdue debt now to be willing to pay a little ahead of time. Since the original contract allowed advance payment, such a favor to France could not have been construed by Great Britain as a violation of neutrality. As if to protect the non-contraband part of such purchases, the treaty of commerce and amity of 1778 between France and the United States stipulated free ships, free goods, freedom to trade between ports of the enemy in time of war, except in contraband, and excluded naval stores and provisions from the list of contraband. Considering what vital assistance France had been to the United States only a few years before, as well as the terms of our treaties with that Power, it would not have been improper benevolence to accede to this request.

The subject came up for decision in Washington's Cabinet, as did all questions of policy. The Secretary of the Treasury had never been willing to take advantage of the Revolution and the change in the French Government to suspend payment of the debt. His sense of national financial integrity would never have allowed him to sponsor such a move as this. Even if the United States, as he advised, should never recognize the Republican Revolutionary Government in France he considered that it was incumbent on the American Government to pay the regular instalments into the coffers of the Bourbon Treasury, no matter who was in temporary control of it. He had also refused to take advantage of the inflation of the French currency to pay off the debt in depreciated assignats. In 1790 and 1791 payments had been made in assignats, but after they began to depreciate, Jefferson, in agree-

ment with the Secretary of the Treasury, notified the French Minister on Sept. 1, 1791, that it was not the intention of the United States to take advantage of this depreciation, and that it would make compensation for losses incurred thereby by France. Some dispute occurred as to the exact figures of such losses by depreciation, but they were eventually adjusted. But Hamilton's heart was against the cause of the Revolution, and realizing the immense damage which this money could do to the enemies of France if the terms of our commercial treaty with that power held their force, he found good arguments against advancing one penny before instalments should be due, as easily as he had found arguments against continuing the French treaties themselves.

Previous proposals had been made to the Government to settle France's debt in this way. Various European and American bankers had been negotiating to purchase it from France, presumably at a discount, and to convert it into United States bonds bearing a slightly higher rate of interest. Overtures to this end had been rejected. Only a few weeks before Genet's arrival, William S. Smith, who was the son-in-law of Vice President Adams, and who had been acting as a French purchasing agent in America during the war between France and the Austro-Prussian coalition, had submitted a proposal of the Provisional Executive Council of France for exchanging the American debt for American supplies. The Cabinet unanimously had decided to reject it. Hamilton was for now refusing Genet's application by simple reference to the recent refusal of Smith's proposal. He stated for the President: "The United States not being bound by the terms of their contract to make the anticipated payments desired, there is no necessity for a specification of the motives for not doing it. No adequate reasons but the true ones can be assigned for the non-compliance, and the assignment of these would not be wholly without inconvenience." Jefferson, Secretary of State, was in favor of keeping alive the friendly sentiments of France by advancing the instalments still to fall due during the remainder of the year 1793. At any rate, he favored at least softening a re-



fusal with some sort of friendly explanation. Washington decided on a refusal, accompanied by an explanation, to wit: that no cash payment in anticipation was within the resources of the Treasury, that to pay with bonds would be to throw suddenly into the market such a mass of securities as to depreciate the credit of the Government as well as to cause France to lose in proportion to the dropping of those bonds below par.

Refusal to anticipate payment of the remainder of the debt in this way was a great blow to Genet's plans, for his Government would have been quite willing to suffer the loss occasioned by having to sell these bonds below par. But no technical exception could be taken to the American position by France. The United States was well within its rights in choosing this option to adhere to the original schedule, even as it would have been equally within its rights in advancing payments if it had seen fit.

In view of the fact that much of this money undoubtedly would have been spent by Genet in the carrying out of his unneutral projects against Louisiana, and that thus it would have involved the United States Government in the expense and inconvenience of preventing them, there is much to be said for the wisdom of Hamilton's opinion against anticipating payments. As it was, Genet appropriated the remainder of the advances which had been made for San Domingo relief work and used it for his current expenses, thus forcing the United States Treasury to meet the drafts drawn by the San Domingo Colonial Government or see its citizens lose their payments.

Despite the fact that payment in antici-

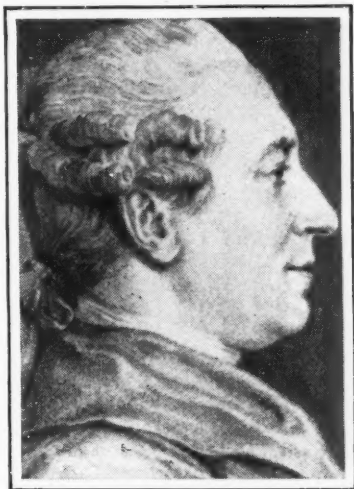
pation of the balance of the debt to France was refused in 1793, our account to that nation and our debts to Dutch creditors were eventually wiped out by what amounted to the same method in 1795, under authority of an act of Congress. The Treasury in that year and in 1796 made arrangement with one James Swan, an interesting American citizen who acted as

the purchasing agent of the French Government in the United States, whereby the debt to France was converted into United States domestic bonds bearing 5½ per cent. interest (none of the French loans had borne more than 5 per cent. interest), which had been created for that purpose by an act of Congress in that year. The French debt was thus merged into the domestic debt, and the bonds finally retired in 1815. Our other foreign debts, in the Netherlands, were also refunded in 1795 into domestic bonds.

It is fitting to end this narrative with the com-

ment of the eminent French scholar, Professor Aulard, formerly of the Sorbonne, now editor of the *Paris Quotidien*:

The history of the establishment and of the payment of the American debt to France is very honorable to both nations. It is well to set it forth at a time when an analogous and reverse situation has come to pass, when now it is America who, after having shed her blood for the safety of France, as once Frenchmen spilt theirs for the independence of the United States, is our creditor. The negotiators whose task it will be to settle this debt, French negotiators and American negotiators, will do well to be inspired by this historic precedent. They will find in it a fine lesson of loyalty and justice, of generosity and exactitude, and a still better lesson, the lesson of friendship.



CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS  
The French dramatist (born 1732, died 1799) who took part in aiding the American Colonies during the War of Independence

# How French Envoys Sought Payment of America

By HENRI L. BOURDIN

A member of the Department of Romance Languages, Yale University

THE statement of indebtedness and the terms of the two contracts signed by Benjamin Franklin for the United States on July 16, 1782, and on Feb. 25, 1783, have been analyzed in the preceding article. The following record traces mainly the diplomatic steps and negotiations that occurred on this side of the ocean.

On May 16, 1784, M. de la Luzerne, the French Minister Plenipotentiary, submitted for the consideration of Congress a note in which he discreetly alluded to the interest on the loan of 18,000,000 francs, due since Sept. 3, 1783. Congress having turned the note over to the Office of the Treasury, the latter answered by a report, dated July 30, 1785, in which it avowed its inability to meet the payment:

Whatever wish the Office has of seeing the public revenue established on a sound basis so as to place the United States in a position to pay the interest on the national debt regularly—a payment so justly due and so long deferred—it can only answer for the faithful administration of the moneys which it receives annually.

M. de Marbois, then French *Chargé d'Affaires*, in communicating this report to his Minister, M. de Vergennes, expressed his surprise at certain interpretations of the contract; "but," he added, "since the United States have not been hitherto able to pay the interest, I thought it useless to raise any discussion about it."

This note was to be the last which Marbois was to address to Vergennes. On Aug. 25 he was succeeded by Otto, a former secretary of La Luzerne, a young and well-advised diplomat, who professed a deep sympathy for the Americans. The day after his arrival Otto addressed a very circumstantial report to de Vergennes, which he ended thus:

I can only, my Lord, repeat what M. de Marbois has often remarked in this connection—that it is to our interest to bring the attention of the Americans continually on these two points (national debt, reimbursement of private individuals) and to press them as much as we are able, in order not to let them think that we have renounced all hope; but we must hardly expect much regularity in the payments.

A few days later, having had a long conversation with the Secretary of State, John Jay, Otto reported in his dispatch of Aug. 30, 1785, the very words of that Minister. They might be quoted as a standard of diplomatic reserve:

We feel indeed all the obligations which we owe to France, and that our honor is interested in satisfying not only his Majesty, but those individual Frenchmen who have suffered through the depreciation of our paper. These important matters are now under the consideration of Congress. We are furthermore interested in continuing our friendship with a nation which is our natural ally. France cannot possibly wish to uproot a tree which she has watered with so much care; we would not wish you to think that the United States are becoming ungrateful to a country which has rendered them a great service and which can always give them support against their enemies. It is the interest of both powers to bind closer and closer the ties which unite them.

"Although I am far from counting on an immediate satisfaction," Otto concluded, "I think that we should not despair at all of obtaining, in a more favorable time, a large part of the sums due to his Majesty."

A week later, however, he was very much concerned over certain rumors which tended to disavow the obligations of the United States to France:

The delegation of Massachusetts—or, rather, several prominent people in that State and in the three neighboring States—have received most false representations of us from M. John Adams. He has set himself in his dispatches to Congress to balancing the services that we have given the U. S. with an exaggerated exposition of the advantages that the Revolution procures for us. He gives an account by the rule of profits and losses, and he concludes from it that it is we who gain the most. Undoubtedly these constant efforts to disparage us must produce their effect on an assembly which forms its opinion of foreign powers mainly on the reports sent by its Ministers in Europe.

And Otto advises de Vergennes to insist to Jefferson, the Minister Plenipotentiary in France, that he present the matter in its true light to the members of Congress. As to the change of opinion in the official world which he is forced to admit,

he explained it in a manner at once original and kindly:

The apparent coldness of those in power is perhaps only the result of the embarrassments in which the finances of the U. S. are at present. Their pride grows in proportion with their poverty, and this sentiment, which takes its source in the heart of man, works perhaps as powerfully in a nation as in individuals. They feel reluctant to grant to the superiority of our position that which they would not refuse if they could negotiate with us on the footing of perfect equality. I sincerely believe that when the American finances become more stable, their minds will become more reasonable and that they will render the generosity of his Majesty and the sincerity of his Minister all the justice which is their due.

He affirmed his intention of emulating the moderation of his predecessor in his choice of terms and in his confidence in the justice of Congress. In order to fulfill his instructions, however, he addressed to the Secretary of State on Nov. 30, 1785, a detailed note which he requested him to bring before Congress. In his acknowledgment John Jay stated that "the importance of the different matters it contained and the delicate way in which they were treated would not fail to attract the attention of Congress."

In spite of such assurances, Otto began to doubt the sincerity of the Secretary of State. On Jan. 10, 1786, he wrote to Vergennes:

I have already had the honor of informing you by letter that neither M. de Marbois nor I have received any answer to the different notes that we have sent for about a year. The Minister tells me that Congress is too occupied to take them into consideration, but I know that that assembly has had for a long time nothing very important to decide, and that the delays are due only to the ill-will of Mr. Jay.

So in April of the same year, profiting by the fact that nine States had representatives present in Congress, which permitted the passing of a fiscal measure, he addressed himself directly to a group of Deputies: "They have felt," he wrote, "how discourteous the long silence of that assembly has been to his Majesty and they have promised to formulate immediately suitable resolutions in order to propose them to Congress."

Yet a few months later Otto recognizes himself the absolute impossibility for the United States to meet its engagements:

The finances of the United States, my Lord, are still in the same ruinous condition; several States have not even acceded to the requisitions of last September. At this critical time it would be not only useless, but hardly politic, to solicit repayment of the sums due his Majesty and our merchants. I am awaiting a more favorable moment to replace these claims before Congress. The intentions of that assembly are as just as can be, but the treasury is so entirely depleted that it is impossible for the United States to fulfill any of its engagements. (Otto to Vergennes, July 1, 1786.)

This report was so true that the Treasury that same year (1786) ceased paying the interest on the Holland loan, which the King of France had to pay in its stead.

#### FRENCH WORRIED OVER U. S. ARREARS

In the month of October of the following year the French Minister of Finances, justly concerned by this situation, had the following note sent to M. de Montmorin, then Minister of Foreign Affairs:

Versailles, Oct. 6, 1787.

You are familiar, Sir, with the advances that the Royal Treasury has made to the United States of North America. I have seen with concern, according to the account which has just been given me, that the terms of the contract have not been fulfilled, and that the United States are very much in arrears in their engagements.

They will owe us on the first of next January:

- 1— 800,000 francs interest for the year 1786 and 1787 on the loan of 10,000,000 made in Holland in 1781 on their behalf. . . . . 800,000
- 2—1,000,000 for the first instalment of the repayment of said loan, which will fall due in December, 1787 . . . . . 1,000,000

N. B. The King is obliged to pay these 1,800,000 francs to Holland, and he has received nothing in its place.

The U. S. owe further at the coming of the first of this month (October, 1787):

- 1—3,600,000 for four years' interest at 5 per cent. on a loan of 18,000,000 . . . . . 3,600,000
- 2—1,500,000 for the first instalment on the repayment of the loan. 1,500,000
- 3—Interest at 5 per cent. since the first of January, 1784, on another loan of 6,000,000. . . . . 1,125,000

Total. . . . . 8,025,000

M. Lambert, the State Counsellor, who

had signed the letter, begged M. de Montmorin to press the reimbursement of these moneys, and particularly the sum of 1,800,000 francs which the Royal Treasury had to pay to Holland at the end of the year.

M. de Montmorin answered the Finance Minister by a brief note in which he stated that he had given the necessary instructions to M. de Moustier before his departure for the United States. This is the first letter he was to receive from de Moustier.

New York, Feb. 14, 1788.

We must not expect any practical arrangement relative to the repayment of the American debt under the present political régime. I shall nevertheless present our claims to Congress in order to assert the King's debt and Holland's debt, and insist on the necessity on the part of the United States to take measures to satisfy its obligations. Although there is at present less hope than ever of success in such demands, I shall try nevertheless to obtain all that circumstances can authorize. Yet I believe that you will not disapprove, my Lord, that I am not showing an eagerness too marked which, moreover, would not prove more efficacious, so as not to give these people an occasion of thinking that the King's Minister has for his principal object the repayment of a debt which is at the present moment more onerous to them than it will be in a little time if the Government becomes stronger.

In another dispatch dated July 5, 1788, we find this rather interesting detail, which shows us how history repeats itself:

A letter has reached me from a member of the Massachusetts Assembly which encloses the substance of the dominant opinions in regard to France and England. It is possible that it expresses only the particular method of thought of this delegate, but I see in it too much of a spirit of system not to regard it as a result of what has been deliberated upon and adopted by a large part of Congress, more especially by the leading personalities of the Northern States.

The delegate contradicts at first the false rumor which has spread of the design of Congress to annul the debt of our Union, but he does not see the possibility of paying for a long time either the interest or the capital of the French debt.

It is during this year 1788 that the formation of a society of European capitalists who proposed to assume the repayment of the French debt was rumored: "Whatever be the principles on which this plan has been established," Otto wrote to Mont-

morin, "I have reason to believe that it would displease the most influential Americans and that it would be equally contrary to our interests and to those of Congress."

Naturally, this state of affairs was not quite satisfactory to the French Minister of Finances, whose treasury was in a pitiable condition. On Oct. 12, 1788, Necker wrote personally to Montmorin and recalled to him the answer he had sent to Counsellor Lambert, adding:

As almost a year has passed since that time, I think that M. de Moustier must have rendered an account to you concerning the effect of his cares and the arrangements that the United States ought to have made to free themselves from indebtedness to his Majesty. Their debt grows annually because of the successive payments due on their obligations, and it would be of great import to us to be able to assure their addition to the Royal Treasury.

The answer of Montmorin was eloquently brief. It read as follows:

I have received, my Lord, the letter which you have done me the honor to write me concerning the credit which the King has in the Congress of the United States of America.

That matter was included in the instructions of M. le Comte de Moustier; but you will see by one of his dispatches, a copy of which I herewith enclose, that the repayment is very far from settlement. In any case, my Lord, I shall instruct M. de Moustier to renew his requests if he thinks it possible to do so without inconvenience.

In the meantime the American Constitution had been proclaimed and Washington had called into office Jefferson and Hamilton. Nevertheless, the new Government hesitated to take the necessary fiscal measures for the payment of the interest and of the arrears of the debt. De Moustier wrote on Sept. 8, 1789:

It is not surprising that while the fabric is still shaky, Congress has not dared overload it with a new burden, but the result of it is that the public revenue will hardly suffice for the current expenses of the Administration, and that the creditors of the United States cannot yet hope for the reimbursement of the sums which are due them. You will observe, my Lord, that the arrearage alone amounts to more than 28,000,000 for this year, and that it would be useless to press for repayment.

A few days later the French Minister Plenipotentiary, having paid a visit to Hamilton to congratulate him on his ap-



pointment to the Secretaryship of Finances, the young American Minister confided to him his intention of effecting a loan in Holland in order to repay the French Royal Treasury the arrears due and the future interests. "It is to be desired," adds de Moustier in his report to his Minister, "that the great hopes of Mr. Hamilton be realized. Whatever dispatch he bring to this matter, it cannot be completed in less than a year." Did Hamilton realize himself the difficulties he was to encounter? The fact is that on the eve of the departure of de Moustier, who had been recalled by his court, he called on him and urged him, in the name of the King of France, to grant a moratorium of five or six years for the repayment of the principal of the debt. The full text of the note and memorandum which Hamilton sent to de Moustier the next day was as follows:

New York, Oct. 14, 1789.

Mr. Hamilton presents his compliments to the Count de Moustier and has the honor to enclose agreeably to his intimation a memorandum of the idea suggested in conversation yesterday. Mr. Hamilton begs leave to remark that if the Count should feel himself at liberty and see it expedient to make, previous to his departure, an offer of the suspension intimated, it would add to the value of the favor, and the knowledge of it would facilitate the arrangements of Congress when the subject may be entered upon at the next session, and which will, of course, be sooner than any communication from Europe can be had.

New York, Oct. 14, 1789.

The first session of Congress, besides some laws of immediate urgency respecting navigation and commercial imposts, was wholly occupied in organizing the Government. Time was requisite afterward for the consideration of the Legislature with regard to the public debt. And accordingly Congress, after giving directions for that purpose to the Secretary of the Treasury, concluded upon a short adjournment. It is expected that a provision for the public debt will be a primary object of discussion at the ensuing session. And it is presumable that the part of it which is due to France will engage particular attention. It would be a valuable accommodation to the United States if his Most Christian Majesty should see fit, as a new instance of his good will, to suspend the payment of the instalments of the principal now due and become due, for the term of five or six years; on the idea that effectual arrangements should be made to pay, speedily, the arrears of interest which have already accrued, and, punc-

tually, the future interest as it shall arise. There being no person authorized to speak this language, this is, of course, intended as a mere private intimation. Indeed, it will be on every account desirable that the measure should proceed from his Most Christian Majesty as an unsolicited effusion of his friendship to the United States.

It was impossible for de Moustier to undertake such engagements on his own responsibility. He so remarked with much courtesy in the reply that he addressed to Hamilton's memorandum.

At the second session of Congress the Secretary of the Treasury developed his plan, and on March 1, 1790, that assembly voted almost unanimously the repayment of the foreign debt in accordance with the terms stipulated in the contracts, through new loans at lower interest. A single voice rose against that measure, that of a Deputy from Massachusetts, Mr. Gerry, who declared that the credits of American citizens had a character infinitely more sacred than those of the King of France, because they represented services rendered, while indebtedness to France was rather the price of the efforts which the Americans had made to second the views of that country in severing from England colonies, the early growth of which aroused her jealousy. "It is astonishing," he continues, "that they have converted into a loan what in all justice should have been considered as a simple subsidy that a powerful King could not help but give to a feeble republic who wars in his interests."

The secret hope of Hamilton was to obtain from Holland a loan of \$12,000,000, with interest at 3 per cent. He was soon to learn that the financial status of the United States did not permit the procuring of such advantages, for in November of the same year he had Congress pass a measure authorizing him to make a loan of \$12,000,000 from Holland at 5 per cent. But the political situation of Europe, already quite delicate, frustrated this last hope. "We have been able to obtain this time only \$3,000,000 (15,750,000 francs), which we need here and which we obtained at a fair rate," declared Mr. Foxe to Otto. "But during the coming year we hope to complete a general refunding of our foreign debt and to give, for a country as new as ours, a unique example of punc-

tuality and good faith in our engagements by paying all our creditors, and above all France, which, at this moment, appears to need all her funds and which, having assisted us with so much generosity during our distress, has a right to expect this return of good offices."

Those \$3,000,000, along with \$5,000,000 excess receipts on taxes, were used by Hamilton to restore interior credit, and on Dec. 25 of the same year Otto noted in one of his dispatches to his Minister "the sudden rise of the paper money of Congress, which, by the magic power of Mr. Hamilton, is today nearly at par."

While the American loan was being negotiated, another group of Holland bankers—Jeanneret, Schweitzer & Co.—had come to propose to the French Minister of Finance the entire payment of the American debt to France in exchange for granting the United States a loan of 40,000,000 francs at 6 per cent. Considering the embarrassment under which the French Minister of Finance was struggling, such an offer was most tempting and he must have wished to see it accepted. Conversations were opened with Gouverneur Morris, then the American Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris. The latter, not too anxious to commit himself in this affair, advised Montmorin to submit the proposals of the bankers directly to the Government of Washington. On Jan. 24, 1791, Montmorin sent to Otto a complete exposition of the Holland proposals with a letter in which he stated:

You will kindly inform Mr. Jefferson of the proposals of Messrs Jeanneret and Schweitzer. We must desire, naturally, considering the annoying condition of our finances, that it may meet with the approval of General Washington and that he may decide to agree to it. But you will observe that we are subordinating our convenience to that of the United States.

Jefferson declined to accept the proposal submitted to his Government and he so informed the French Chargé d'Affaires in a letter dated May 7, 1791. He assured the French representative of his earnest desire to repay speedily both the capital and interest of the French debt and apprised him that Mr. Short, the United

States agent in Holland, had instructions to negotiate a loan to this effect with the firm of Dutch bankers which had granted the first loan. The unsettled condition of affairs in Europe was to delay this operation for several years.

Meanwhile, the uprising of the negroes in Santo Domingo in August, 1791, had created new and crying needs for the French Administration. The French colonists were, at that particular time, clamoring for ammunition and foodstuffs. Washington consented to have the French Minister Plenipotentiary de Ternant draw upon the United States Treasury for the purpose of purchasing the most needed supplies. Ternant did this and drew also other amounts for his own salary, which he was no longer able to obtain from France owing to the condition of affairs in Paris. So, when Genet was sent by the new Republican Government of France to replace the representative of the Ancien Régime in December, 1792, the United States had already paid, in the manner indicated, a large portion of its indebtedness. As a matter of fact, there remained due a sum total of 23,549,115 francs 17 sous 3 deniers, out of the original 34,000,000 francs. About half of the balance was drawn by the new French envoy to purchase supplies for France or Santo Domingo, and the remaining moneys, amounting to 12,000,000 francs, were paid in final settlement three years later to the Comité du Salut Public, with the exception of the gratuitous gift, which, of course, did not call for repayment.

Though the final settlement of the French debt was effected six years before the time limit fixed by the agreement between the two Governments, it is obvious that the United States benefited by the magnanimous attitude of France, who patiently awaited the end of the American Government's financial embarrassment while she was herself distracted by a series of economic crises. On the other hand, it will be noted that a very large portion of the moneys due actually remained in the United States as payment for the supplies purchased by the French representatives.

# The Dead Hand in Philanthropy

By JAMES C. YOUNG

WHEN the successful American acquires a few millions he looks about for some one to take them off his hands. It is our national temperament to find joy in creation and boredom in possession. Only a few of the monumental fortunes pass to new owners undiminished. Large bequests to orphans, art, science or education have become so generally the rule that an exception stirs comment. Within fifteen years capitalized public welfare has increased from a handful of nondescript millions to a sum easily exceeding \$2,000,000,000 and perhaps rising to \$2,500,000,000. In an effort to understand all the possibilities bound up in that great sum, let it be said that our vested benefactions of today equal the whole wealth of the country a hundred years ago.

More than two-thirds of the total amount of the principal endowments of the last fifteen years, shown in the following list, has been made available in ten years, this tendency being one that is increasing rather than diminishing, as indicated by the recent gifts of Eastman, Duke and Munsey:

John D. Rockefeller.....	\$575,000,000
Andrew Carnegie.....	350,000,000
Cleveland Foundation (miscellaneous)	150,000,000
Henry C. Frick.....	85,000,000
James B. Duke.....	80,000,000
Milton S. Hershey.....	60,000,000
George Eastman.....	58,000,000
Mrs. Russell Sage.....	40,000,000
Frank A. Munsey.....	40,000,000
Henry Phipps.....	31,500,000
Benjamin Altman.....	30,000,000
John Stewart Kennedy.....	30,000,000
John W. Sterling.....	20,000,000
Edmund C. Converse.....	20,000,000
J. R. De Lamar.....	16,500,000
Mrs. Stephen V. Harkness.....	16,000,000
Augustus D. Juilliard.....	15,000,000
Henry E. Huntington.....	15,000,000
George F. Baker.....	12,000,000
J. P. Morgan.....	10,000,000
Mrs. Elizabeth Milbank Anderson...	10,000,000

\$1,664,000,000

This list includes only gifts of \$10,000,000 and above. Smaller sums would raise the total to more than \$2,000,000,000. Broadly speaking, it has been divided in this way: education, \$800,000,000; philanthropic and religious institutions, \$500,000,000; scientific research, \$300,000,000; art, books and music, \$200,000,000; special or undefined purposes, \$200,000,000.

What influence is this colossal pyramid of wealth to have on the generation just ahead and those to follow afterward? If we begin with \$2,000,000,000 in 1926, how great will this pyramid become in twenty-five, fifty or a hundred years? Not only is a growing total of uncounted billions in prospect, but it is possible—decidedly, probable—that many of the purposes to which those billions are devoted will disappear and leave the money useless. The intentions of dead men, expressed in the terms of wills and millions, are not easily changed.

Surprising as this prospect may appear at first glance, it merely represents the experience of the past upon a new and vast scale. The endowed trust intended to confer benefit through long periods of time is not a modern creation. England and continental countries have had such devices for centuries. There are traces of them so long ago as the days of Rome. In England alone it is said that 20,000 funds have ceased to operate because changing conditions nullified the good intentions of their donors.

But we need not depart from our own national experience to find illustration of how ineffectual the dead hand may prove in public giving. Even the wisest of Americans was unable to look beyond the veil when he sat down to write his will. If ever a man lived who might have been expected to distribute his surplus wisely, that man was Benjamin Franklin. Although we cannot challenge his wisdom of purpose in drawing a somewhat famous will, it is enlightening, if not startling, to learn that several thousands of pounds

which he set aside for the benefit of posterity are now inactive. Even the needs that Franklin sought to meet no longer exist. Any one acquainted with the philosophy of poor Richard must know how the idleness of this money would have affected its owner if he could look upon the results of his mandates. Here is an excerpt from his will which continues in effect:

I have considered, that, among artisans, good apprentices are most likely to make good citizens. \* \* \* To this end, I devote 2,000 pounds sterling; 1,000 to the inhabitants of the town of Boston, and the other 1,000 to the inhabitants of the City of Philadelphia, in trust. \* \* \*

The said sum shall be managed under the direction of the Selectmen, united with the ministers of the oldest Episcopalian, Congregational and Presbyterian Churches, who are to let out the sum \* \* \* at 5 per cent. \* \* \* to such young married artificers, under the age of twenty-five years, as have served an apprenticeship in the said town, and faithfully fulfilled the duties required in their indentures, so as to obtain a good moral character from at least two respectable citizens who are willing to become their sureties. \* \* \* These loans are \* \* \* not to exceed sixty pounds to any person. \* \* \*

If this plan is executed without interruption for one hundred years, the sum will then be 135,000 pounds; of which I would have the managers of the donation to the town of Boston then lay out, 100,000 pounds in public works, which may be judged of most general utility to the inhabitants, such as fortifications, bridges, aqueducts, public buildings, baths, pavements, or whatever may make living in the town more convenient for its people, and render it more agreeable to strangers resorting thither for health or a temporary residence. The remaining 31,000 pounds I would have continued to be let out on interest, for another hundred years. \* \* \* At the end of this second term, if no unfortunate accident has prevented the operation, the sum will be 4,061,000 pounds sterling, of which I leave 1,061,000 pounds to the disposition of the inhabitants of the town of Boston, and 3,000,000 to the disposition of the Government of the State. \* \* \*

All these directions \* \* \* I would have observed respecting that gift to the inhabitants of Philadelphia. \* \* \* And, having considered the covering of a ground plot with buildings and pavements, which carry off most of the rain and prevent its soaking into the earth and renewing and purifying the springs, whence the water of the wells must gradually grow worse, and in time be unfit for use \* \* \* I recommend that at the

end of the first hundred years, if not done before, the \* \* \* city employ a part of the 100,000 pounds sterling in bringing, by pipes, the water of Wissihicken Creek into town, so as to supply the inhabitants.

We need little imagination to call up the benign Franklin, sitting in his easy chair with lids half closed, peering far, far into the shrouded future, when his foresight would assure pure water for the coming citizens of Philadelphia. But the outcome has proved far different from the plan. In Franklin's time a loan at 5 per cent., as set down in the will, was uncommon. Small borrowers paid usurer's interest. In time the 5 per cent. rate actually became higher than the interest charged by other institutions for similar purposes. So the Franklin rate was reduced by court decree to 4 per cent. and other changes permitted that again made the fund active.

No borrowers have appeared in thirty years. The real cause lay not in the interest rate, but the fact that indentured apprentices long since dropped out of the economic scheme. How astonished Franklin would have been if some one had whispered in his ear on the day that he wrote his will suggesting there might not be an apprentice a hundred years hence to enjoy his bounty. But no voice revealed the future to the good Franklin, so he wrote his will as many a man has done before and since, in the light of his own knowledge, and left the rest to destiny. In Franklin's case destiny has not served him badly, even if the full measure of his hopes never can be realized. In 1890, at the end of the first hundred-year period, the Philadelphia fund amounted to about \$90,000 instead of the \$650,000 that Franklin anticipated, computed on a basis of continuous loans virtually involving the whole capital. But indentured apprentices disappeared and his money remained dormant.

#### PHILADELPHIA'S "PUBLIC WORK"

Endeavoring to carry out the donor's intentions, the Philadelphia authorities divided his \$90,000 in the proportion of 100 to 31, and this money went into the construction of the Franklin Institute, construed to be a "public work." The remaining \$20,000 has increased until it represents about \$70,000, after a third of the second century.





AMERICAN MILLIONAIRES WHO HAVE AIDED EDUCATION AND SCIENCE  
From left to right: John D. Rockefeller, James B. Duke and George Eastman

This is a faster rate of growth than in the first century and it may be believed that the next distribution easily will involve a quarter million dollars. Finally, it may be noted, the city could not pump "into town" the waters of Wissihicken Creek, as that streamlet long since practically dried up.

Where Franklin failed in an undertaking so well ordered for the benefit of mankind, it would seem that other men might pause before attempting to shape the future. But the annual volume of our benefactions is mounting so rapidly that it promises to become an economic and educational factor of the first consequence. While some of the large funds fail to spend their income and the capital is growing steadily, many of the nation's donors continue to surround their benefactions with hard and fast restrictions, which are often more numerous. The day seems not far distant when some of the new purposes for which they are intended also may be a memory only in our social history.

One of the principal gifts announced in the last year or two was that of Milton S. Hershey, who made his fortune out of chocolate. Mr. Hershey has set aside almost the whole revenue of a profitable business as a permanent endowment for orphan boys. That endowment in its original form was estimated at \$60,000,000. Under the terms of the gift the larger part of earnings from the Hershey business will be added to the original fund. Last year these earnings exceeded \$4,000,000. In ten years the total of the Hershey capital is likely to

be \$100,000,000. Those ten years will have a broad influence upon orphan boys. The Hershey endowment provides for a home and school in Hershey, Pa., where the white, healthy orphan boys of the county may be admitted for care and instruction. The boys of Pennsylvania are next eligible, then the boys of the whole country. Other homes may be erected. But the fundamental provisions will apply, although in ten years we may have so few waifs within the Hershey restrictions that the philanthropist's purpose will become impossible of fulfillment.

Sociologists agree that private homes are superior to the best institutions for the rearing of children and insist upon mothers' pensions or orphans' allowances in place of funds to conduct institutions. Orphan homes everywhere are closing for lack of orphans. The melancholy institutions of other days may soon vanish entirely from our social horizon. In that event, what is to be done with the Hershey money? The donor's provisions cannot be mistaken, nor easily altered. Courts show extreme reluctance to change the provisions of wills. It is a principle of law that every man may dispose of his property to his own fancy, once he has shown due regard for immediate dependents. A leading jurist has said that more litigation develops annually from the interpretation of wills than any other single cause. And one of the most troublesome issues of this litigation depends upon the interpretation of what constitutes a valid bequest.

Numerous examples come easily to hand of court decisions ruling against the alteration of endowments. Harvard University made application for permission to use funds left under the McKay bequest for co-operative work with the Massachusetts Institute of Applied Science, but the State Supreme Court declined to grant this permission, ruling that the bequest "must be administered according to the intention of the founder, even though it be at variance with our views of policy or expediency." Considering the Hershey endowment from the viewpoint of the Massachusetts court, there is a wide field for speculation as to how great the Hershey fund really will become.

Should any further evidence be needed that orphans are hard to find, it may be had in the experience of the John Edgar Thompson School, endowed some forty years ago by a President of the Pennsylvania Railroad. He looked with pity upon the daughters of railroad workers killed in service and determined to found a home where they should have a fair chance in life. The Thompson restrictions closely resembled those laid down by Franklin and Hershey. But the science of railroad management improved. Accidents were reduced. Hence there were fewer and fewer girl orphans eligible for admission. The terms of the Thompson will could not be changed. The home became so bereft of orphans that it advertised extensively for charges. But the national publicity brought only twelve orphans.

#### SAILORS' SNUG HARBOR

Even a single word may determine the administration of a great endowment. Surely no institution in the world ever had a history written in more vivid terms than Sailors' Snug Harbor, of New York. It stands forth as a celebrated example of how a small fund may increase in time. And its whole service was threatened by the interpretation of a single word. But in order to understand this matter it is necessary to go back a little way.

Toward the close of the eighteenth century a certain Captain Thomas Randall went to live in New York and won a place in its merchant community. This Captain Randall had not always lived the quiet life

that he now took up. In fact, there were colorful stories about the Captain and the sources of his wealth. The most entertaining of these maintained that he had been well known in New Orleans before turning merchant. The story tellers said that he used to bring many a cargo into port out of missing ships. But the Captain succeeded in keeping clear of the halter and settled down in his prime years for a peaceful life of commerce. Then death took the Captain, and he left his son a considerable fortune. In due course death also threatened the son, who sent for Alexander Hamilton, another man famous for his wisdom in financial matters. What, asked the son, could he do to honor his father and benefit old sailors? "My father was a mariner; his fortune was made at sea," said the afflicted man. "There is no snug harbor for worn-out sailors. I would like to do something for them." Note that word "sailor."

Although a historian of the day has preserved the speech of the son, the answer of Hamilton is not recorded. But it must have been, in substance, about as follows: "You have suggested the means yourself, Randall. Why not establish a home for old sailors and call it Snug Harbor?" The suggestion was acted upon and Hamilton helped to draw the deed, which gave "a good farm containing an excellent orchard and market garden," consisting of twenty-one acres and situated a little way outside New York. His gift bore the date of 1801. The surge of New York had not gained fair headway, and Robert Fulton was yet to develop the steamboat. Thus the younger Randall died and the farm in time became the site of a home for old sailors. The tract extends across present day Fourth and Fifth Avenues, Tenth Street and Waverly Place. Its value then was \$7,000. Today it is estimated to be from \$25,000,000 to \$40,000,000. The twenty-one acres have been held intact more closely than any other property of the same extent upon Manhattan Island.

Now comes the climax in the romance of Sailors' Snug Harbor. As New York crept uptown and the value of land increased, the steamboat and then the steamship largely took the place of the sailing vessel. In consequence there were fewer



BENEFACTORS WHO HAVE GIVEN MILLIONS FOR PUBLIC OBJECTS  
From left to right: Andrew Carnegie, Milton S. Hershey and Henry C. Frick

sailors, according to prevailing dictionaries and the rulings of courts. The Randall bequest specified "sailors" and said nothing of men who worked aboard steam craft, for the excellent reason that there were no such craft in 1801. How could the trustees or the courts decide if it was the will of the donor to admit men in this last harbor who "steamed" rather than "sailed?" A knotty point of law; one which kept men from steamships out of the home until general practice and the makers of dictionaries agreed that it might be as well to term all mariners by the name of sailors. The home is now one of the show places of Staten Island, in New York harbor, where mariners of all persuasions mingle with common comfort. This is the richest endowment of the kind in the country. Its wealth is increasing much faster than worn-out sailors who have no "snug harbor."

Another bequest which eventually failed to achieve its purpose was that left by Byron Mullanphy, once Mayor of St. Louis. Mullanphy had gone West when it was West indeed. He observed the sufferings of home-makers, particularly those stranded on the far reaches of a trip across the prairies. Mullanphy left a third of his property to aid "worthy and distressed travelers and emigrants" going through St. Louis "bona fide to settle for a home in the West." The frontier town of 1851 rang with acclaim of Mullanphy's deed. But the years were few until the railroad reached St. Louis, pushed on beyond and the new tide of travel flowed by the impetus of

steam instead of oxen or mules. Fewer and fewer settlers found themselves adrift in St. Louis. But the Mullanphy fund still multiplied. Once more the donor was missing. The regulations he had decided upon are yet in effect. His once modest bequest already amounts to nearly \$1,000,000 and is rapidly growing larger.

Still another case like those cited was that of the Pennsylvania woman who at the approach of death felt the impulse to worthy deeds. She left funds establishing a home in perpetuity for Presbyterian ministers of 70 and more who did not use tobacco. The trustees earnestly endeavored to carry out her wish, but after twenty years had mustered only twenty-one beneficiaries, of whom five were dead, fifteen remained and one had left of his own accord.

#### THE J. B. DUKE ENDOWMENT

It is said that much the larger part of the money presented to colleges has come from the pockets of men who never went beyond the three R's. Men of this sort, in the days of their denial, walk past a college with heavy heart and sometimes with bitterness of spirit. That yearning often takes shape in the form of a substantial gift when fortune smiles. Perhaps this psychology was at work in the heart of the late James B. Duke, who transformed a minor college of North Carolina into the most richly endowed institution of learning in the United States, even surpassing wealthy Harvard. The tobacco man was reared almost in the shadow of

Trinity College, Durham, N. C. But his upbringing consisted mainly of long days between the handles of a plow, going his appointed rounds through a tobacco patch. Duke's father was poor, the country virtually ruined. Only a few of the highly favored might enter the classic portals of Trinity. Duke was missing from the number. Yet he would have liked to attend Trinity and learn wisdom from books. But it was not to be. He might dream only of the day when he would accomplish great things in the world. Presently he grew up, gained control of the means to appease mankind's commonest habit, and now he has left to Trinity a matter of some seventy-five or eighty million dollars. A specialist in keeping records of the unusual has computed that we have 4,043 millionaires in a population of 110,000,000 people. Of these 3,780 began life poor boys.

England is an older country and its philanthropists have studied the needs of posterity far longer than Americans. One donor left a fund to buy "small beer" for poor church wardens on stated days. There have been uncounted funds for the benefit of prisoners and other sufferers. The bread fund is familiar in all countries. And one fund that never found its way into the chronicles of fame used to be maintained by a bowery saloon keeper who kept a free lunch for all comers in memory of his mother.

If we accept the endowment as the reflection of personal experience or suppressed expression—certainly it is in a considerable number of cases—then we shall find an interesting drama in the fund established by Henry Smith, in 1626. Smith evidently had fallen into the hands of pirates at some time in his life, as he left half of his estate to ransom any Englishman who suffered a like fortune. In 1626 the world had no reality more vivid than its pirates. It would have seemed a prophecy of the millennium to suggest that in a future day pirates would be extinct, save upon the screen. Henry Smith never

thought that far ahead. He bequeathed half of his worldly riches to those who might chance upon such grave misfortune. Then he left the other half to indigent relatives. A limited part of the first half was used to obtain the freedom of captive Englishmen, but pirates became fewer and there has been no application for succor of this kind since 1723. As to the second half of the Smith wealth: In 1700 there were only four indigent relatives qualified to share in the largess of their ancestor. The world has moved on a long way and the Smiths of this particular strain have increased impressively. Recently they numbered 400, one-fourth of whom were great-great-great-great-great-great-grandnephews and nieces of the thoughtful Henry Smith.

Such is a brief review of human wisdom and laughing destiny, as it upsets plans so carefully laid for the good and happiness of those to come afterward. There is another side, of course, to this question of endowments and their ultimate benefit. It is one of the imposing questions arising from modern education. Labor has insisted that capital seeks by means of restricted education, influenced through endowments, to make the sons of labor tomorrow's workers, without opportunity to rise in the scale of industry.

There are numerous other criticisms. Almost everybody finds fault with the great trusts of endowed hopes. Students of the social order affirm that only a few of the original purposes behind the trusts can be carried out and conclude that the money soon must constitute a dead weight. In practically every case the vested benefactions of the last decade—the greatest era of public giving ever known—have gained rapidly. Dr. Henry S. Pritchett, head of the Carnegie Foundation, has summed up the matter this way: "Somebody must sweat blood with gift money if its effect is not to do more harm than good." That is a thought worth bearing in mind when we come to the spending of \$2,000,000,000 in post-mortem philanthropy.



# The Prison Life of Notorious Federal Convicts

By M. W. WADE

Recently Federal Parole Officer, Leavenworth Penitentiary

**P**RACTICALLY all men who are put in prison, including even "lifers," come out again some time; and if confining what we call criminals is important to society, releasing them is also important.

When a man is released from behind the bars he can travel no middle ground and becomes either a destructive or a constructive agency—a law breaker again, or a law observer. One of the methods of releasing imprisoned men is by parole, a method not very clearly understood by most persons, pretty generally criticized, and pretty generally successful, when carefully administered, in turning released convicts into channels of usefulness. As a parole officer in one of our great Federal penitentiaries for a number of years I gained an intimate knowledge of the Federal parole law, its operation and results as well as its relation to criminology and the behavior of thousands of individuals who through this means have been given their freedom. In my experience as an officer I have been more interested in individuals than in laws because it is with persons rather than with statutes that agencies of government have to deal in establishing and upholding order. Individuals, not laws, establish governments and destroy them.

Frank Tannenbaum recently pointed out that we should speak of criminals in the same terms that we apply to other people. They are all human; most of them are amazingly like people we meet on the streets and in business and social contacts; many have admirable and likable personalities. Because of the fact that the individuals of the crime world may be more interesting than the laws, let me first tell of a few whom I have known intimately, for choice, men whose names are almost as familiar in America as are the names of Cabinet officers. This is as I have known them, handled and studied them back be-

hind prison walls with their masks off, after the reporters are through.

I never saw Nicky Arnstein in prison when he was not debonair, and I saw him hundreds of times at work in the prison coal gang. Prison garb is not made to the measure of the wearer, but despite this and the further facts that this man is difficult to fit from stock clothing on account of his unusual height, and that his work was not such as would permit or encourage immaculateness, he wore his rough garb with some distinction. There always seemed to be something about him that was reminiscent of boulevards. He is unusually tall and well developed and is a man whom people anywhere would give more than a passing glance whether he were dressed in overalls or Sand Row tweeds. In saying I never saw him in prison when he was not debonair, I mean to imply that I once saw him outside prison when self-possession deserted him. That was when I took him to New York in June, 1924, in connection with an effort made by surety companies to recover several million dollars' worth of stolen negotiable securities which it was thought Arnstein and his associates could produce.

The effort lasted several weeks and during that time every sort of pressure was brought to bear that would compel or tempt a human being in his circumstances, the principal lure being one of the most priceless of human treasures, freedom. The only time in these dramatic negotiations that Arnstein lost his poise was when attorneys for the surety companies forced the prisoner to face squarely the issue of betraying his friends in order to insure his freedom. After lawyers and others had harassed him for hours continuously, and while I was waiting to take him back to prison if he failed to "produce," Nicky leaped to his feet and cried: "Do you men

expect me to put my friends where I am? Well, if you do you are on a cold trail. Nothing doing." Then, to me, "Let us go!" Most criminals when pressed hard enough will betray others to save themselves. That is one of the weaknesses of human nature that officers constantly make use of. But I am afraid that the millions which Arnstein is supposed to know about will never be recovered to their owners if dependence is placed on the man's carelessness or the betrayal of his friends.

Incidentally, I may mention that Arnstein remained on the prison coal gang because he chose to, giving as a reason that the work kept him physically fit. Prisoners usually are released at 7 A. M., after what in prison parlance is called "a bad night." If there is going to be any weakening in a man's poise it is likely to show itself when he stands waiting at dawn before the door of his release, knowing that freedom is just beyond the portal and the hour. I have seen many men "crack" at that time. Nicky merely strolled out as though going for a drive and was off to spend Christmas with his wife, Fanny Brice.

#### DR. COOK IN PRISON

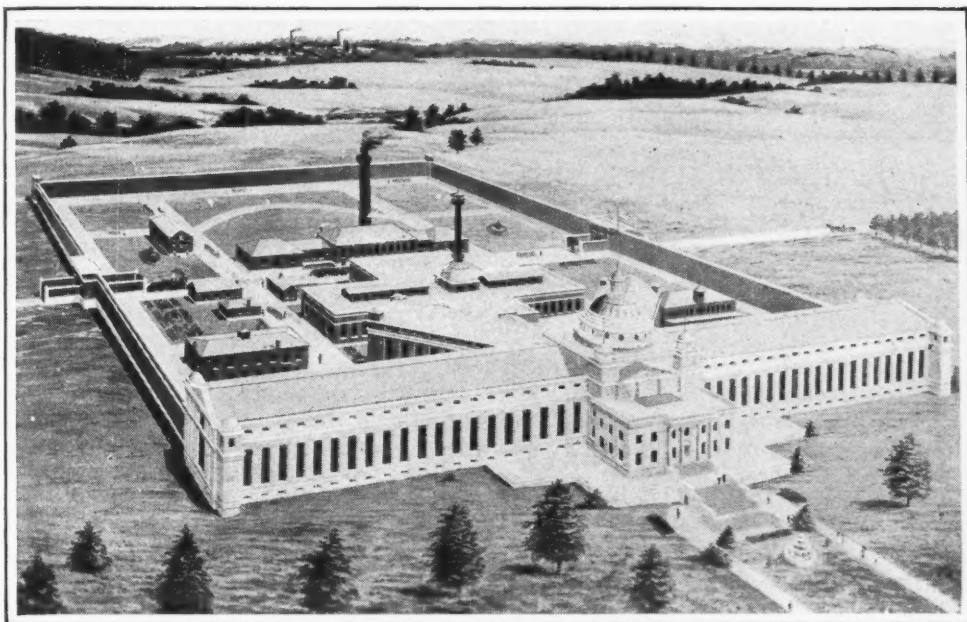
A very different personality is Dr. Frederick A. Cook, who, it will be remembered, was given a long sentence in Leavenworth for misuse of the mails in Texas oil promotions. I happened to be away from the prison when Dr. Cook was received and "dressed in." I had never seen the man but had the impression of him as being large, aggressive and fearless—the sort of man one would expect to have lived a life of exploration and adventure. Fearless he may be, but to my surprise I found him a man of average size, colorless, mild-mannered, gray. There is something even feminine about Dr. Cook, now. I do not mean weakness, but that he is kindly and gentle. He is sweet. This is all the more remarkable when one considers what he has undergone. I am referring to his life before he went into oil promotions, and I am not taking any position here with reference to his "discoveries" or their authenticity.

Regardless of the authenticity of his claims as an explorer, even those who denounced him must admit that he was the object of one of the most bitter attacks ever directed at a human being—an attack

which went far beyond its ostensible purpose of disproving his scientific pretensions. Yet he shows no rancor. I have seen him day after day in his little cell-room, in the yard, at his work; have talked with him frequently and have observed him as closely and as intelligently as I could, but I have found no evidence of bitterness in him. I doubt if he even is disillusioned. Men cannot live by sham or pretense in prison. In the face of his conviction for a gigantic and unscrupulous oil swindle I will be frank enough (since I am no longer an officer) to say that I believe the man has been sincere in all he has done. He has a mental poise and dignity that cannot dwell with insincerity. To me there is something incongruous and rather terrible about the destiny of this man. Dr. Cook is aging and ill, and I doubt if he will survive his sentence, but if he dies in prison he will go out, I believe, with a serenity that few men attain to who have not been subjected to a small fraction of the buffetings he has received from fate and fortune.

Other interesting and well-known characters now serving time in Leavenworth are Roy Gardner and Big Tim Murphy, each differing from the other as greatly as could be imagined and each in his way a sublimated specimen of his type.

Roy Gardner is an example of what may be called a super-bandit, a man of such unquestioned daring, resourcefulness and physical prowess that he is kept under constant and heavy guard. In the West, at least, his story is almost legendary. He has had a magnificent physique which now bears the marks of illness and confinement. Even in his physical prime it would have taken a keener observer than I am to suspect him capable of swimming the icy stretch of water that separates McNeil Island prison from the mainland after several days with no food but wild berries picked from the bushes and with a dangerous gunshot wound in his leg. Swimming that water is considered impossible to a trained athlete in perfect health. Gardner was guilty of several daring mail and train robberies, and more than once managed sensational escapes. He boasts of having never fired at another man even when so doing would have achieved his freedom. In this respect it must be admitted that he



The Federal Penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kan.

is an exception to the class of dangerous criminals of which he is one of the most notorious heads. Gardner recently was secretly moved to Atlanta for an operation to remove a pressure on his brain caused by an injury received years ago and which his friends claim is responsible for criminal tendencies.

#### BIG TIM MURPHY'S SOCIABILITY

No man has ever taken to imprisonment so complacently as does Big Tim Murphy of Chicago. He is widely known as having been a labor boss and political power and has been accused or suspected of almost everything pertaining to misconduct in those fields of human endeavor, and some others. He is a large, well-built man of middle age without a tendency to stoutness. Knowing him rather intimately one imagines that he gained wealth, prominence and power through his pronounced traits of sociability, rather attracting fealty than compelling it. He is outspoken, good-natured, fearless but not vindictive; a politician to the finger-tips both in Chicago and in Leavenworth Penitentiary. There always is politics where men live together in numbers and in a place where there are more

than three thousand, even if a prison, political activity is rife and keen. True, there are no great prizes to be won in such politics, but there is the game. And if there is anything in the way of special privilege, special food, and so forth, Big Tim has them or knows how and where to get them. He is of a type which seems to draw special privilege to it without effort.

Murphy, it will be recalled, was a labor union boss. I overheard him one day while he was indulging in reminiscences in connection with an effort once made to induce him to accept the Presidency of a gravediggers' union. "That was the only Presidency of anything I ever refused," he said. "And it was the first money I ever refused in my right mind. Those grave diggers come around and want me for President, and all I have to do is accept \$3 a head every month for telling them when to strike. But I kind of had a feeling that anybody that called a strike on digging graves would not be a bit popular. And what good is a union that cannot strike every now and then? I have run a lot of unions, but no grave diggers for me." Big Tim seems to me to personify the menace of a certain kind of political influence in

some of our large cities. He has been shorn of liberty for a while, but not of power in his world, by any means.

These are but a few well-known types among the thousands in this prison who will go out again. Without describing other personalities, I might say that those who are interested in such a study might find in the consideration of professional and occupational groups in prison a revelation of some of the more fundamental aspects of criminology. Briefly, of the professions, bankers, doctors, lawyers, promoters and ministers are most numerous in that order, with the bankers well in the majority. Excluding laborers, the first five occupational groups in the order of numerical importance are farmers, chauffeurs, mechanics, cooks and barbers.

I have never met an adult human being who is not a law breaker. As Judge Henry A. Fuller of Pennsylvania said recently, "It has become impossible for even the best-intentioned people to go through the day without committing one or more crimes," there being, he added, probably 50,000,000 crimes committed daily in the United States. The problem of government is concerned almost wholly with the motivation for law breaking; but even with that classification in mind it is a difficult thing to divide people into the distinct groups of those who break laws "innocently" and those who are deliberate, habitual or professional law breakers. The latter class ought to be treated with a stern hand, but, of all people, the one deserving of the least consideration is the self-righteous individual who unctuously and dogmatically divides people into two distinct classes, namely, law breakers and law observers, black and white, and who would withhold mercy from those whom the law catches but who are not "criminals." The founders of our criminal code realized that we are all in one sense law breakers, all gray, when they made provision that another chance should be given to those of us who deserve it. So we have parole laws.

#### ORIGIN OF THE PAROLE

The parole, as we know it, had a military origin. It was a pledge of honor given by prisoners of war that if released they would not again take up arms against the granting

authority. Essentially that is what our parole law amounts to—a promise to abide by the laws of constituted government.

The Federal parole law was designed to give another chance to those who have been sentenced to imprisonment for more than one year, who have actually served as much as one-third of their sentence (in case of a life sentence as much as fifteen years) and who appear after a thorough investigation to be worthy of the trust placed in them by the Government that they will observe the laws and endeavor to become useful and orderly members of society. Parole usually is denied those applicants who are wanted for other crimes, or whose crime or character is of such a nature as to lead the Board of Parole to believe their release would be incompatible with public welfare. Also, a man to be paroled must have had a good conduct record continuously for at least six months previous to his eligibility. Finally, parole is for the guilty. A very deserving applicant not long ago was denied parole because he persisted in his assertions of innocence. Innocent he may have been, possibly, but his recourse was pardon, not parole.

My statistics of Leavenworth Penitentiary show that our parole law over a number of years has been approximately 96 per cent. effective. By this I mean that the efficiency of the law is to be judged by the number of paroled men who go out and keep their pledges to lead orderly and useful lives, during their parole periods at least. I have heard of State parole laws which are operated on an efficiency basis of 50 per cent., but it must be borne in mind that I am discussing only our Federal law and its operation. With reference to some State parole laws I suspect that, as is the case with almost any law, it is the administration of the statute and not the law itself that is responsible for success or failure.

The operation of the Federal parole law is as follows: Let us say that a man has violated a Federal law, is indicted, pleads guilty or is found guilty by trial, and is sentenced to eighteen months at Leavenworth. He is not wanted by authorities elsewhere. He enters prison as a first-grade prisoner and by behaving himself and observing the prison rules he completes



the necessary time, in this case six months, without being removed from that grade. He is now eligible for parole and has been called before the parole officer and instructed as to how he shall make and support his application. His case is called in its numerical order and he appears before the Parole Board, which consists of the Superintendent of Federal Prisons, the Warden and the prison physician, who have before them the applicant's recommendations, which he has assembled and which may have come from prominent citizens or even officials. The Board also have before them the prisoner's record, consisting of all data regarding his crime and conviction covered by detailed reports of Federal inspectors, prosecutors, and so forth, and such other information concerning the applicant's character and personality as may have been deemed essential. The applicant is subjected to such questioning as the Board may see fit. He cannot be represented here by attorney or any one else, but he may speak freely for himself. When the audience is terminated the application may then and there be recommended (two votes of the Board being essential for recommendation or rejection), or it may be denied or set over for a future hearing.

If parole is recommended it is forwarded to the Attorney General for his action, which is necessary and final. While awaiting this action the prisoner is instructed and assisted in securing a "first friend," who must be a person of unquestioned responsibility and integrity and who must make a written promise to the Attorney General that he will forward monthly reports as to the applicant's employment, conduct, and so forth, during the tenure of parole. The prisoner must promise to observe the laws, engage in respectable and adequate employment, make any reports required of him, abstain from the use of intoxicating liquor and avoid places where it is sold, and shun the association of persons of questionable character. Assuming that his parole is granted and arrives and that he still is a first-grade prisoner, he is released and must report to his "first friend" directly, who must in turn report immediately to the Warden. The released man may not roam or move about the country at will, but must remain in the territory

specified for him, although such limitations may be changed by the Attorney General. He is, in fact, still in custody and merely is serving the rest of his sentence outside prison. For sufficient reason he may at any time during his parole be arrested and returned to prison to complete his sentence.

In connection with the parole system there is a little understood phase of prison psychology which should be considered. It is that for most first offenders the real punishment ends when they are "dressed in" at the prison and begin their sentences. I refer to the humiliation and distress caused by indictment, arrest, trial and sentence with all the attendant notoriety and the frequent newspaper abuse and misrepresentation. It is a relief to get away from all this and into the seclusion and "protection" of prison walls. So, for many men the length of the sentence does not add greatly to the severity of the punishment, but serves only to delay salvage and to make it more costly and difficult. I have not the least doubt that 100,000 men—men who have learned their lessons—could be released from prison in the United States today without the least harm to society.

Among some of the few faults in the Federal parole law and its operation there is one, I think, that should be remedied. It is that the law should be made automatic with regard to first offenders. This would give every man who is not a real criminal an equal chance irrespective of undue influence exerted either for or against his parole, and it would emasculate the effectiveness of many unduly exaggerated reports of inspectors and other officials who for personal reasons desire that certain men should be kept in prison without regard to how much they may merit freedom.

As to the professional or habitual criminal, there is little to be said. He has no business whatever with parole. He should be caught at any cost, speedily tried, surely convicted, adequately sentenced. Scientific means should be employed to classify men who break the laws, and when it is scientifically and certainly determined that a man is a deliberate and habitual law breaker, whether a bank president or a footpad, he should be kept in custody for life.

# Russia's Sinister Plot to Exploit China

By K. K. KAWAKAMI

American correspondent of the Tokio Nichi Nichi and the Osaka Mainichi

OSTENSIBLY, Soviet Russia's intermittent quarrel with Chang Tso-lin, actual ruler of Manchuria, is over the control of the Eastern Chinese Railway. In reality it is over the question: Who shall be the mistress of North Manchuria and Mongolia—China or Russia? North Manchuria comprises some 242,800 square miles, two-thirds of the whole of Manchuria; Mongolia has an area of 1,368,000 square miles. A dispute that involves the destiny of so vast a territory, if permitted to wax into a serious conflict, is bound to draw many a third power into it. It is not entirely inconceivable that the country where Russia and Japan were locked in titanic struggle twenty years ago may some day become a scene of greater conflict.

China, of course, is more than a third party to this quarrel. She is, in fact, a co-party with Chang Tso-lin, for Manchuria and Mongolia, though at present semi-independent, are regarded by her as part and parcel of her own dominion. However hostile toward Chang Tso-lin China's Central Government may be in domestic politics, it must perforce cast its lot with him, once a common enemy, a foreign power, threatens its territorial integrity.

Behind the scene of this quarrel stands the anxious figure of Japan, praying that the situation will never develop in such a way as to compel her to take sides with either party. For she fears that her entrance into the fray might prove a signal for world conflagration. For her the safest and perhaps only course would be to restrain both Russia and Chang Tso-lin by friendly mediation so as to forestall the development of their disagreements into open warfare. This, in fact, is what Japan has in the present case endeavored to do, and the endeavor has not been entirely in vain. For the time being, the war cloud has been dispelled from the Manchurian horizon; what the future may have in store no one knows.

The immediate cause which provoked the recent conflict at Harbin is simple enough. Ever since Chinese soldiers under Chang Tso-lin replaced the Russian guards along the Eastern Chinese Railway in March, 1920, the Manchurian war lord has demanded the privilege of free passage for these soldiers. As a matter of fact, the Chinese railway guards seldom paid fares. To this practice the Russian manager of the railway constantly objected, insisting that the Chinese guards, like ordinary passengers, must pay for their tickets. There was another disagreement. General Chang, in moving his troops (not railway guards) on the Eastern Chinese Railway, has claimed the privilege of not paying their fares at the time of their embarkation, but of settling accounts with the railway management at a future time more convenient to him. In other words, he wanted the railway to allow him a period of grace. It is quite conceivable that this period has often been prolonged to suit General Chang's convenience. Naturally, the Russian railway authorities disapproved this practice and asked General Chang to pay more promptly, or preferably in advance, for the transportation of his troops.

As long as the Manchurian General was in the prime of his power the Soviet authorities dared not enforce their will. When his prestige met a setback as a result of his recent campaign against his rebel lieutenant Kuo Sung-ling, the Soviets thought the time opportune to settle the old score. Contrary to their expectation, General Chang countered their mandate with a coup, arresting Mr. Ivanov, the Soviet manager of the railway, and insisting upon the continuance of the former practice as to payment of fares. On Jan. 25 General Chang, lending ear to counsels of moderation from various sources, released Ivanov on the following conditions: (1) That Chinese railway guards, when traveling on duty, shall enjoy free passage; (2) that they shall pay fare when not on

duty; and (3) that payment for the transportation of troops may not be made in advance but shall be made as promptly as possible after the date of transportation.

Thus was the incident occasioned, and thus was it closed. But the root of the trouble, as I have already intimated, lies much deeper in the soil of traditional antagonism between Russia and China. To view this antagonism through proper perspective we must go back to the Aigun treaty of 1858. Prior to that year China claimed suzerainty over what is today the Russian territory known as Transbaikal, Amur and Maritime provinces, aggregating some 659,000 square miles.

#### HISTORY OF RUSSIA'S ENCROACHMENTS

By the Aigun treaty Russia annexed a greater part of that region—the section stretching between the Stanovoi ranges and the Amur River. Two years later Russia scored another diplomatic coup in the signing of the Peking treaty, obliging China to forfeit the rest of the aforesaid region, namely, the section lying between the Amur River and the Japan Sea. In 1895 Count Cassini, Russian Minister to Peking, wrested from China a celebrated convention, laying a foundation for the Russian domination of Manchuria. In the year following, Russia obtained the right to build a railway of some 930 miles through North Manchuria—the Eastern Chinese Railway now involved in dispute between Soviet Russia and China. Along the railway thus built Russia had the right to station soldiers at the maximum rate of 15 per kilometer. Before the Russian revolution of 1917 the guards along the Eastern Chinese Railway consisted of four brigades, which, roughly, comprised 55 companies each of infantry and cavalry and a company of artillery—all in all about 26,680 officers and men.

Those were happy days when the Czarist empire was at the zenith of its grandeur. Manchuria had, to all intents and purposes, become Russian territory, and the Russian officers and soldiers, puffed up with a consciousness of power and authority, often treated the natives as though they were the scum of earth. Their arrogance and brutality were a constant source of irritation and indignation to the Chinese.

These facts must be borne in mind in order to understand the Chinese attitude toward the Russians in Manchuria since the Russian revolution in 1917.

That revolution turned the tables in favor of China. It loosened Russian hold upon the Eastern Chinese Railway, and offered the long-awaited opportunity for the Chinese to make inroads into its management. The Chinese Government, in its efforts to regain its rights in North Manchuria, had to rely upon Chang Tso-lin, the Manchurian chieftain, for its authority did not extend beyond the Great Wall, or even beyond the gates of Peking. When, in March, 1920, the Russian guards along the Eastern Chinese Railway mutinied and refused to perform their duties, General Chang, at the request of the Peking Government, disarmed them and replaced them with his own men. The Russians then found reason to regret their arrogance toward the Chinese in their palmy days. For the Chinese, long chafing under Russian domination, did not fail to give vent to their pent-up feeling of revenge. It was a regrettable case of an eye for an eye.

In October, 1920, the Chinese Government, after successful negotiations with the Russo-Asiatic Bank (formerly Russo-Chinese Bank, really a French concern, which financed the building of the Eastern Chinese Railway), issued an ordinance allowing itself much greater authority than before in the management of the railway. By virtue of it, China appointed five directors for the Eastern Chinese line, while the other five were appointed by the Russo-Asiatic Bank. It also created four departments for the railway, each having a Russian chief and a Chinese assistant chief. Other officials were to be chosen impartially from among Russians and Chinese. This was a great victory for China, because under the old arrangement her authority over the railway was only nominal. The Russians thus appointed by the Russo-Asiatic Bank were "Whites" or conservatives, remnants of the Czarist or the Kerensky régime. The Chinese officials, though technically appointees of the Peking Government, were in reality chosen with the tacit approval of General Chang Tso-lin, who considered Manchuria exclusively under his jurisdiction.

Soon after this arrangement was made, dissatisfaction was expressed on all sides, particularly by the Russians, over the obvious inefficiency and possible corruption of the Chinese officials and over the unruly conduct of the Chinese railway guards. There were some 180,000 Russians living in North Manchuria. Some of them organized in Harbin, the Russian metropolis in that country, what was known as the Association for the Recovery of Russian Rights. This society, in one of the pamphlets issued by it, bitterly criticized the irregularities and incapacity of the Chinese wing of the railway administration, and enumerated 600 cases in which Chinese railway guards attacked Russian railway officials without provocation, or subjected Russian residents in the railway zone to brutality and extortion. The Russians in Manchuria in those days were mostly "Whites."

#### SOVIET RESOLVED TO HOLD RAILROAD

Meanwhile "Red" Russians were casting coquettish glances now toward Peking, now toward Mukden, the seat of the Chang-Tso-lin Government. To win Chinese friendship, they held out tempting offers, intimating in no equivocal terms that they were ready to give up all the rights, including the Eastern Chinese Railway, obtained by Czarist Russia. Their word was for a time taken at face value by both Peking and Mukden. But their hopes were destined to be blighted. It soon became evident that the Soviet promises were but empty words, and that Bolshevik Russia had no intention of abandoning the railway and other important rights in Manchuria. Today Russia is even scheming to cover North Manchuria with a network of new railways.

Russia's determination to cling to the Eastern Chinese Railway is obvious in the provisions of the treaty she concluded with the Peking Government in May, 1924, and the text of which will be found at the end of this article. It recognizes China's right to purchase the railway, but inhibits her from raising any foreign loan, not Russian, for the exercise of that right. Moreover, the manager of the railway was to be a Russian, while three of five auditors were to be appointed by the Soviet Government.

True, the Board of Directors was to consist of five Chinese and five Russians, an equal representation. But the real power of railway management rested with the general manager and the Board of Auditors.

By concluding the above agreement with Peking, the Soviets hoped to oust the "White" or conservative Russians from the administration of the Eastern Chinese Railway, and to put its control entirely in their own hands. But no treaty so seriously affecting Manchuria could be put into effect without the approval of General Chang Tso-lin, who had declared himself and Manchuria independent of the Government at Peking. The Soviet bowed to the inevitable, and in September of the same year entered into a separate agreement with Chang Tso-lin, thus adding strength to the Manchurian's claim for independence. [The text of this second treaty is published at the end of this article.]

Armed with the new treaty with the Mukden war lord, the Soviets forthwith proceeded to force the "White" elements out of the railway administration. Although General Chang had no sympathy with the Soviet régime, he was somehow coaxed to connive at this measure of ejection. Thus the Soviets, in October, 1924, were enabled to arrest and imprison Ostromov, "White" manager of the railway, and a number of his colleagues and assistants, and to fill their posts with "Reds."

Nevertheless, General Chang Tso-lin was naturally sympathetic toward the "Whites." When, in May, 1925, Mr. Ivanov, the new Soviet manager of the railway, took steps toward the wholesale dismissal of "White" officials and employees of the railway, General Chang dispatched to Harbin a large contingent of troops to nip the scheme in the bud. Had the Soviets felt themselves powerful enough to cope with Chang they might have resorted then and there to the arbitrament of the sword. They were not then ready to strike a blow.

#### FRANCE, AMERICA, JAPAN INTERESTED

Meanwhile interested powers watched the developments of the railway situation with no small apprehension. France was particularly concerned with Soviet inroads





Map showing the territory of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, estimated at 7,041,120 square miles, with a population of 132,000,413, as against the area of the former Russian Empire of 8,417,118 square miles, with a population of 182,182,000

into the management of the railway. She contended, as she still does, that the Eastern Chinese Railway came into existence by virtue of an agreement concluded between the Chinese Government and the Russo-Chinese (now Russo-Asiatic) Bank, of which the majority of stock was owned by French capitalists, and that any agreement regarding the ownership or management of the railway made without French consent was invalid.

The United States and Japan are also interested in the question, for in the years 1918-20 they advanced \$5,000,000 each to the Eastern Chinese Railway. In addition, the South Manchuria Railway Company, a Japanese concern, has advanced several million dollars for the upkeep of the line.

It was because of these international interests that the Washington Conference of 1921-22 saw fit to adopt a resolution declaring that the present condition of the railway required "a more careful selection of the personnel to secure efficiency of service and a more economical use of funds to prevent waste of the property," and also insisting "upon the responsibility of China for performance or non-perform-

ance of the obligations toward the foreign stockholders, bondholders and creditors."

How Japan and the United States advanced \$5,000,000 each to the Russian railway in Manchuria may be briefly told. The loans were made as an outcome of the interallied intervention in Siberia from August, 1918, to the Spring of 1920. The Allies, finding the Russian railways in a chaotic state, had to devise some means to keep the roads open. For that purpose they organized at Harbin, Manchuria, an interallied railway technical board, presided over by Colonel John F. Stevens, an American engineer, and consisting of one representative each of Japan, England, France, Italy, Russia and Czechoslovakia. It was to enable this committee to keep up the operation of the Russian lines that Japan and the United States were obliged to shoulder the necessary financial burden, as the other allied powers were not prepared to contribute any sum toward the enterprise.

Today the Eastern Chinese Railway is a comparatively small part of a great problem. The problem that is of the foremost concern to the powers, particularly Japan

and China, is whether Manchuria shall be permitted to become "Red," as Mongolia already has become. Indications are not lacking that Soviet Russia is intent upon clipping the colonial wings of the powers, including China, not by the highhanded methods of the Czarist Empire, but by the subtle methods of propaganda. M. Boubonov, chief of the Political Department of the Red army, addressing the annual meeting of the Communist Party in December, 1925, said:

The nationalistic movement in the Far East, awakened by us in 1925, has reached its climax. The population of Russia, India, China and other colonial countries combined is larger than the population of the rest of the world. The organization of the colonial revolution has consequently become the chief task of the Soviet Government, especially because the revolutionary wave in Western Europe has receded. On this point no divergence of opinion is possible, everything must be consecrated for the development of the revolutionary movement in the Far East.

There is reason to believe that this represents the general policy of the Moscow Government. This policy has already borne fruit in Mongolia.

#### A RED REPUBLIC IN MONGOLIA

Russian ambition in that country is an old story. In 1911 the Czar, taking advantage of the Chinese revolution, established a suzerainty over Mongolia. The Soviet Government, so far from renouncing this Czarist policy, has tightened its hold upon that territory. Under the aegis of clearing the country of "White" forces, the Soviet Government in 1921 sent an army into Urga, the capital of Mongolia, and for four years refused to withdraw it, in defiance of repeated Chinese protests. By 1925, when the Soviets at last removed the Red army from Mongolia, the Mongolian army had already been drilled and officered by the Reds, and had been provided with "Red" arms and munitions. There had been established an autonomous Mongolian Government which no longer recognized China's authority, but which sent its "diplomatic" representatives to Moscow. A Mongolian national bank had been organized under "Red" management, giving the Soviets a financial control over the coun-

try. The "Constitution" drawn by the "Reds" proclaims Mongolia "to be a republic of independent people, its entire administrative power belonging to the working people of the country." Article 13 of the Constitution boldly declares:

In view of the efforts being made by the working people of various countries in the world for the destruction of capitalism and realization of communism, the Mongolian Republic of the working people shall exert its utmost to cooperate with them for the promotion of the fundamental object common to small nations diplomatically tyrannized, and to revolutionary working people throughout the world.

The Soviets, to set up a "republic" of workers in a country still in the pastoral or nomadic stage, must indeed be extraordinary humorists. But the humorous scheme has serious aspects. Great Britain views with apprehension the growing sovietization of Mongolia, for that spells a menace directly to the British position in Tibet and indirectly to British rule in India. The British expedition to Tibet under Colonel Younghusband in 1912, and the various British enterprises that followed, were undertaken to counteract Czarist encroachment upon Mongolia in 1911. England is just as fearful of "Red" control as it was of "White" suzerainty over the land of the "Living Buddha."

#### A THREAT TO JAPAN

The consolidation of the Soviet position in Mongolia is bound to strengthen the Russian hold upon North Manchuria—a fact of which Japan cannot help but take cognizance, for North Manchuria is a step to Korea. It is, therefore, only natural that Japan should welcome the establishment of a buffer such as is provided by the Chang Tso-lin régime at Mukden. And yet Japan, having entered into diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia, has been unable to extend to Chang Tso-lin such material aid as has been coveted by him. She is afraid, moreover, that such assistance, if given, might be used by Chang against his political enemies, as well as against the Soviets. The Manchurian war lord, impatient with Japan's lukewarm attitude, is reported to have approached England for help. He knows that England dislikes his rival, Feng Yu-hsiang, the "Chris-

tian General," for his anti-British activities. Whether England has been coaxed to lend ear to Chang's appeals is not known. It is possible that rumors of deals consummated by Chang with Great Britain are only part of propaganda spread by Chang Tso-lin himself for the purpose of stirring Japan. Due to the fact that 170,000 Japanese live under his jurisdiction, and that they have established enormous economic enterprises in his territory, the Manchurian General is in a peculiarly advantageous position in dealing with Japan and

he has not hesitated to capitalize this position to advance his own interests. Obviously Japan is in an embarrassing and delicate position. To help General Chang against Russia or against his political enemies would be impossible; yet to antagonize him would be to hamper, not to say jeopardize, Japanese enterprises in South Manchuria. It is a difficult rôle which Japan is required to play in Manchuria—to be friendly with Chang Tso-lin, yet to deny him the assistance he asks, and asks persistently.

### Text of the Peking-Moscow Agreement Relative to the Eastern Chinese Railway Signed May 31, 1924

The Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics mutually recognizing that, inasmuch as the Chinese Eastern Railway was built with capital furnished by the Russian Government and constructed entirely within Chinese territory, the said railway is a purely commercial enterprise, and that, excepting for matters appertaining to its own business operations, all other matters which affect the rights of the Chinese National and Local Governments shall be administered by the Chinese authorities, have agreed to conclude an agreement for the provisional management of the railway with a view to carrying on jointly the management of the said railway until its final settlement at the conference as provided in Article II of the Agreement on General Principles for the settlement of the questions between the Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of May 31, 1924, and have to that end named as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say:

His Excellency the President of the Republic of China: Vi Kyuin Wellington Koo;

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: Lev Mikailovitch Karakhan;

Who, having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

**Art. I**—The Railway shall establish, for discussion and decision of all matters relative to the Chinese Eastern Railway, a Board of Directors to be composed of ten persons, of whom five shall be appointed by the Government of the Republic of China and five by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The Government of the Republic of China shall appoint one of the Chinese Directors as President of the Board of Directors, who shall also be the Director-General.

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall appoint one of the Russian Directors as Vice President of the Board of Directors, who shall also be the Assistant Director-General.

Seven persons shall constitute a quorum, and all decisions of the Board of Directors shall have the consent of not less than six persons before they can be carried out.

The Director-General and Assistant Director-General shall jointly manage the affairs of the Board of Directors and they shall both sign all the documents of the Board.

In the absence of either the Director-General or the Assistant Director-General, their respective Governments may appoint another Director to officiate as the Director-General or the Assistant Director-General (in the case of the Director-General, by one of the Chinese Directors, and in that of the Assistant Director-General, by one of the Russian Directors.)

**Art. II**—The Railway shall establish a Board of Auditors to be composed of five persons, namely, two Chinese Auditors, who shall be appointed by the Government of the Republic of China and three Rus-

sian Auditors who shall be appointed by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The Chairman of the Board of Auditors shall be elected from among the Chinese Auditors.

**Art. III**—The Railway shall have a Manager, who shall be a national of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and two Assistant Managers, one to be a national of the Republic of China and the other to be a national of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The said officers shall be appointed by the Board of Directors and such appointments shall be confirmed by their respective Governments.

The rights and duties of the Manager and the Assistant Managers shall be defined by the Board of Directors.

**Art. IV**—The Chiefs and Assistant Chiefs of the various departments of the Railway shall be appointed by the Board of Directors.

If the Chief of Department is a national of the Republic of China, the Assistant Chief of Department shall be a national of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Assistant Chief of Department shall be a national of the Republic of China.

**Art. V**—The employment of persons in the various departments of the Railway shall be in accordance with the principle of equal representation between the nationals of the Republic of China and those of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

**Art. VI**—With the exception of the estimates and budget, as provided in Article VII of the present agreement, all other matters on which the Board of Directors cannot reach an agreement shall be referred for settlement to the Governments of the contracting parties.

**Art. VII**—The Board of Directors shall present the estimates and budget of the Railway to a joint meeting of the Board of Directors and the Board of Auditors for consideration and approval.

**Art. VIII**—All the net profits of the Railway shall be held by the Board of Directors and shall not be used pending a final settlement of the question of the present railway.

**Art. IX**—The Board of Directors shall revise as soon as possible the statutes of the Chinese Eastern Railway Company, approved on Dec. 4, 1896, by the Czarist Government in accordance with the present agreement and the Agreement on General Principles for the settlement of the questions between the Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of May 31, 1924, and in any case, not later than six months from the date of the constitution of the Board of Directors. Pending their revision, the aforesaid statutes, in so far as they do not conflict with the present Agreement on General Principles for the settlement of the questions between the Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and do not prejudice the rights of sovereignty of the Republic of China, shall continue to be observed.

**Art. X**—The present agreement shall cease to have

effect as soon as the question of the Chinese Eastern Railway is finally settled at the conference as provided in Article II of the Agreement on General Principles for the settlement of the questions between

the Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of May 31, 1924.

Art. XI—The present agreement shall come into effect from the date of the signature.

## Text of the Agreement Between the Soviet Government and the Mukden (Chang Tso-Lin) Government, Signed Sept. 23, 1924.

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of the Autonomous Three Eastern Provinces of the Republic of China, desiring to promote the friendly relations and regulate the questions affecting the interests of both parties, have agreed to conclude an agreement between the two parties, and to that end named as plenipotentiaries, that is to say:

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;

The Government of the Autonomous Three Eastern Provinces of the Republic of China;

Who, having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

### ARTICLE I.—THE CHINESE EASTERN RAILWAY.

The Governments of the two Contracting Parties agree to settle the question of the Chinese Eastern Railway as hereinafter provided:

(1) The Governments of the two Contracting Parties declare that the Chinese Eastern Railway is a purely commercial enterprise.

The Government of the Contracting Parties declare that with the exception of matters pertaining to the business operations which are under the direct control of the Chinese Eastern Railway, all other matters affecting the rights of the National and the Local Governments of the Republic of China, such as judicial matters, matters relating to civil administration, military administration, police, municipal government, taxation and landed property (with the exception of lands required by the Chinese Eastern Railway itself) shall be administered by the Chinese Authorities.

(2) The time-limit as provided in Article XII of the Contract of Aug. 2 for the Construction and Operation of the Chinese Eastern Railway of Sept. 8, 1896, shall be reduced from eighty to sixty years, at the expiration of which the Government of China shall enter gratis into possession of the said Railway and its appurtenant properties.

Upon the consent of both Contracting Parties, the question of a further reduction of the said time-limit (that is, sixty years) may be discussed.

From the date of signing the present agreement, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics agrees that China has the right to redeem the Chinese Eastern Railway. At the time of redemption, the two Contracting Parties shall determine what the Chinese Eastern Railway had actually cost, and it shall be redeemed by China with Chinese capital at a fair price.

(3) The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics agrees to a Commission to be organized by the two Contracting Parties to settle the question of the obligations of the Chinese Eastern Railway Company in accordance with Section IV of Article IX of the Agreement on General Principles for the settlement of the questions between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Republic of China signed on May 31, 1924, at Peking.

(4) The Governments of the two Contracting Parties mutually agree that the future of the Chinese Eastern Railway shall be determined by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and China to the exclusion of any third party or parties.

(5) The Contract for the Construction and Operation of the Chinese Eastern Railway of Aug. 27, Sept. 8, 1896, shall be completely revised, in accordance with the terms specified in this agreement, by a Commission of the two Contracting Parties in four months from the date of signing the present agreement. Pending the revision, the rights of the

two Governments arising out of this contract, which do not prejudice China's rights of sovereignty, shall be maintained.

[Sections 6 to 15 of this article are in substance the same as Articles I to X of the Peking-Moscow treaty printed above.]

### ARTICLE II.—NAVIGATION.

The Governments of the two Contracting Parties agree to settle, on the basis of equality, reciprocity and the respect of each other's sovereignty, the question relating to the navigation of all kinds of their vessels on those parts of the rivers, lakes and other bodies of water, which are common to their respective borders, the details of this question to be regulated in a Commission of the two Contracting Parties within two months from the date of signing the present Agreement.

In view of the extensive freight and passenger interests of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the River Sungari up to and including Harbin, and the extensive freight and passenger interests of China on the lower Amur River into the sea, both Contracting Parties agree, on the basis of equality and reciprocity, to take up the questions of securing the said interests in the said Commission.

### ARTICLE III.—BOUNDARIES.

The Governments of the two Contracting Parties agree to redemarcate their boundaries through a Commission to be organized by both Parties, and, pending such redemarcation, to maintain the present boundaries.

### ARTICLE IV.—TARIFF AND TRADE AGREEMENT.

The Governments of the two Contracting Parties agree to draw up a Customs Tariff and conclude a Commercial Treaty in a Commission to be organized by the said Parties on the basis of equality and reciprocity.

### ARTICLE V.—PROPAGANDA.

The Governments of the two Contracting Parties mutually pledge themselves not to permit within their respective territories the existence and/or activities of any organizations or groups whose aim is to struggle by acts of violence against the Government of either Contracting Party.

The Governments of the two Contracting Parties further pledge themselves not to engage in propaganda directed against the political and social systems of either Contracting Party.

### ARTICLE VI.—COMMISSIONS.

The Commissions as provided in the Articles of this Agreement shall commence their work within one month from the date of signing this Agreement, and shall complete their work as soon as possible and not later than six months. This does not apply to those Commissions whose time-limits have been specified in the respective Articles of this Agreement.

### ARTICLE VII.

The present Agreement shall come into effect from the date of signature.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Agreement in duplicate in the Russian, Chinese and English languages, and have affixed thereto their seals.

In case of dispute, the English text shall be accepted as the standard.

Done at the City of Mukden this — Day of — One Thousand Nine hundred and Twenty-four, which is the

— Day of the Month of — the Thirteenth Year of the Republic of China.



# America's Neglect of Research in Pure Science

By WATSON DAVIS

Managing Editor, Science Service, Washington, D. C.

THE very mainspring of modern progress lies in the pure scientific research that often seems to be useless and usually is quite unintelligible to the layman. How the scientific pioneers of the past have been scoffed at because they were laying the very foundations for wealth and comfort in the future! Despite the fact that mankind is beginning to realize the spiritual and material value of science, we are told by those who make it their business to know that America lags in pure science research. Radio, electric lights, new motor fuel, all these and a hundred and one new gifts from science are being produced fast enough, but these are the result, in most cases, of scientific discoveries and facts of the past being applied to practical, industrial problems. In digging out the facts for their own sake, in pursuing scientific truth without an ulterior motive, our nation is most backward. These are hard accusations; they indicate an unsafe condition. To the rescue of pure science there has come a group of public men and leading scientists, the National Research Endowment Trustees of the National Academy of Sciences, headed by Secretary of Commerce Hoover, who have made it their task to see to it that pure science is properly supported. They want the nation to spend literally millions a year for scientific research; they know that the dividends in future years will be millions per cent. Every word, then, that they utter in their appeal, issued on Jan. 31, 1926, should be read with the deepest concern:

The trustees of the National Research Endowment, recognizing that human progress depends in large degree upon research in pure science, declare their conviction:

(1) That the United States, which already occupies a leading position in industrial research, should rank with the most enlightened nations in the advancement of pure science.

(2) That it is wiser to make large expenditures for scientific research, thus advancing civilization, improving human welfare, conserving health, and saving countless useful lives, than to tolerate unnecessary suffering and then endeavor to alleviate it at still greater cost.

(3) That research in all branches of the mathematical, physical and biological sciences should be encouraged, because of the intellectual and spiritual value of adding to knowledge and because the greatest advances in science and in industry often result from apparently useless abstract discoveries.

(4) That scientists exceptionally qualified to widen fundamental knowledge through research are of such value to the nation that every effort should be made to facilitate their work.

(5) That the overcrowding of educational institutions, and the consequent excessive demands of teaching and administration, have further reduced the limited opportunities for research previously enjoyed by the members of their Faculties.

(6) That the funds now available for the support of research in pure science in the United States are far below what our population, education and material resources demand.

(7) That the National Academy of Sciences, created by Congressional charter, the scientific adviser of the Government, and composed of leading investigators in the closely interlocked and mutually dependent mathematical, physical and biological sciences, as peculiarly qualified to evaluate the needs of pure science in America, to stimulate its progress and to insure the widest use of funds provided for research.

In view of these considerations, the trustees of the National Research Endowment, established by the National Academy of Sciences, propose immediately to secure adequate funds for the encouragement of research in pure science.

## PREVENTION OF MINE EXPLOSIONS

In the meantime, it is often discouraging and disappointing to see how well-tried scientific methods of saving money and life are disregarded and unused through laziness, false economy and general lack of foresight on the part of those who control industry. Much too frequently news-

paper headlines recite the sad story of miners trapped and snuffed out like so many rats. Yet 96 per cent. of the soft coal mines in this country fail to use a simple precaution that would have prevented the serious mine disasters of January in Oklahoma and West Virginia and do protect against such blasts in some 200 mines, a mere 4 per cent. of the total number. This method of protecting mines against disastrous explosions of the coal dust in them consists of simply spraying unflammable rock dust wherever the inflammable coal dust collects. A mine explosion is somewhat like a gun firing. A flame or spark sets off the collected gas, which acts like the primer in a gun, and the exploding gas sets up clouds of dust. If the dust is of comparatively pure coal it will explode and the flame will spread through the mine air as far as the dust extends. Powdered rock sprayed about acts as a damper, since the rock dust mixes with the coal dust and dilutes it so much that it will not explode. Of course, if safety rules, such as worked out by the United States Bureau of Mines, are strictly followed, if no gas or coal dust are allowed to accumulate and sparks and flames to set them off are kept out of the mine, there need be no primary explosions.

#### IMPROVED GASOLINE

One of the most fruitful fields of the application of scientific knowledge is that of the automotive industries. And one of the most scientific of the research developments in that field has been the production of tetraethyl lead as an anti-knock compound to be added to gasoline. This substance has been on trial before a jury of the United States Public Health Service for the past few months on the charge of being a menace to public health, but it has been found "not guilty." Its sale had been stopped pending the investigation because of the supposed danger of causing lead poisoning among the drivers of cars using the treated gasoline and among the general public. The committee found after an examination that gasoline treated with tetraethyl lead is safe to handle and use as fuel, although the anti-knock compound itself is still recognized as dangerous in its concentrated form.

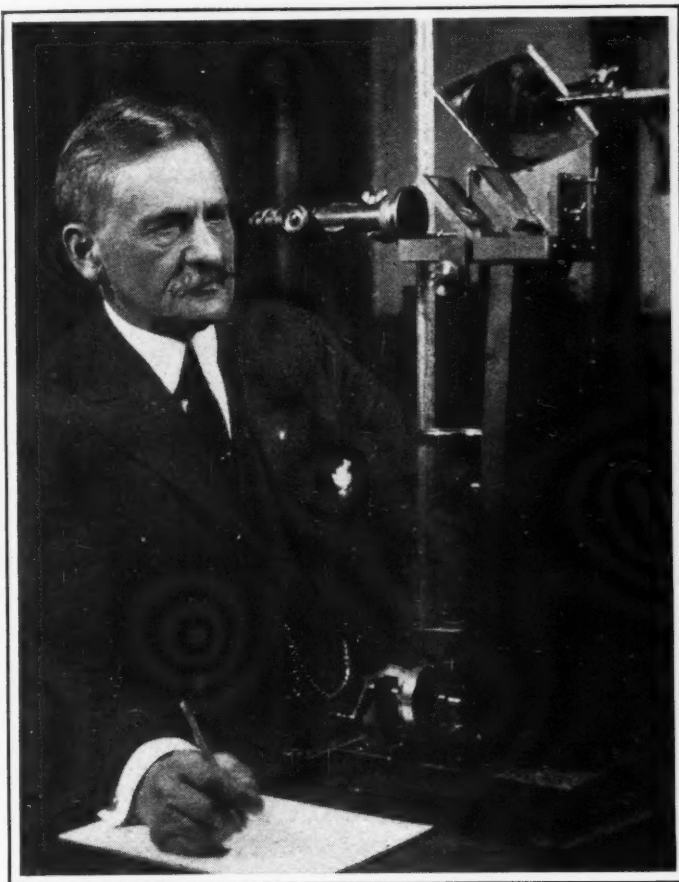
Tetraethyl lead is the result of more than ten years' search on the part of American motor engineers for a means of getting more use out of gasoline. Experts at the United States Bureau of Standards say that the public is getting about 5 per cent. of the energy out of gasoline when it drives its motor cars. A study of the working of the engines revealed that the greater the pressure of the gasoline and air mixture inside the cylinders where it was exploded, the greater the amount of energy obtained. But increased pressure above a certain point caused an objectionable knocking. It was possible that this might injure the motor, and the driver was likely to think something was wrong with his car. Tests with some of the heavier gasolines and alcohols showed that a high compression could be obtained without the knocking. An effort was made to modify the common gasoline used so that it would behave like these also. It was found that iodine and aniline added in small quantities of 3 and 2 per cent. stopped the knocking, and although it was out of the question to use either of these two substances because of their scarcity and high price, it gave the chemists and engineers an insight into the problem. The problem, they said, was a molecular one. Some substances made knocking worse and some made it better. Substances of high atomic weights turned out to be the most effective. Following that fact, and for no other reason at all, scientists tried lead, because it was probably the heaviest common substance that could be easily obtained. After testing many organic preparations containing lead, a synthetic substance, tetraethyl lead, was finally hit upon and found successful. Quantities as small as one-thirteenth of 1 per cent. took out the knock of an engine under strain, compared to the 3 and 2 per cent. of iodine or aniline required. Like all lead compounds, this substance is poisonous. The anti-knock problem is important because America uses over a million gallons of gasoline in an hour.

#### SMALLER AUTOMOBILE ENGINES

At the recent annual meeting of the Society of Automotive Engineers other advances in the automotive field were foreseen. An engineer of one of the large

automobile manufacturing companies explained how the use of smaller engines in automobiles, only sufficient when operating normally to run the car on a level, but which by the use of a supercharger could be made to give enough power to take them up steep hills, might soon be a possibility. Supercharging consists in increasing the amount of gas and air mixture that the engine normally takes into the cylinders. This may be done by some sort of a pump or compressor to put the extra amount of the mixture into the cylinders, and so get more energy out of them. Such devices have been tried on automobile engines from the first days of the industry, but a great impetus to the use of superchargers has been given in recent years by their use in airplanes. By their aid great altitude records have been possible, whereas otherwise the low pressure of the rarefied air would not permit an engine to work. Racing automobiles also use them to get the greatest power out of their engines.

Great ships of the air, covered with shiny, durable metal instead of fragile fabric, are predicted by Ralph H. Upson. "The solution of commercial airship design today lies in a fundamental change in the materials of construction," he believes. Calculations show that there will be an actual saving in weight of the airship if the fabric hull is replaced by one made of duralumin, an aluminum alloy now used in the framework of dirigibles. The all-metal airship, Mr. Upson told the automotive engineers, will be durable and



Professor Albert A. Michelson, President of the National Academy of Science, looking through an interferometer, an instrument he designed for the more accurate measurement of stars and planets

able to stand all sorts of weather. It will be independent of hangars except for "dry-dock" purposes, just as an ocean ship houses itself only when laid up for repairs. Both hydrogen and helium can be used as the buoyant gas in the new type airship, for the metal hull will be a fireproof structure and as safe as a gasoline tank. The metal airship is destined, Mr. Upson believes, to become the commercial carrier of the future that will carry substantially all first-class passengers, all mail, all express on the longer routes over land and seas.

#### NEW TREATMENT FOR MEASLES

In no other field are the life-saving results of scientific research so easily evident as they are in medicine. Now comes

hope that one of the scourges of childhood, measles, will be conquered, Professor R. Debre and Dr. Joannon of the University of Paris Medical School have reported to the Health Committee of the League of Nations. The blood serum of adults who had measles in childhood may be used to modify measles in children so that it will take only a mild form devoid of serious after effects and yet will give immunity for life just as the normal form of the disease does. More than a thousand injections of the serum have been without any bad effects. The efforts of Dr. Leon Bernard of the University of Paris resulted in the establishment of two prophylactic stations in Paris for the treatment of the disease. Up to the present time prophylactic methods have been used to some extent in the United States and Germany to secure temporary immunity. A serum from convalescent cases was used and injected in patients during the first six days after infection. But a durable immunity may be developed if the serum is not injected until the germs have had more time to incubate, as in Professor Debre's modified procedure, according to which the injections are made only between the sixth and tenth day after infection. A serum shortage problem was solved by the discovery that the serum of adults who have long since recovered from measles was as efficient as that taken from convalescent children.

Although as old as medical history, and so common that in cities over 90 per cent. of the population have had the disease by the age of 18, measles is still one of the mysterious diseases which it has been extremely difficult to combat. It is believed to be caused by an extremely small organism which cannot be seen with the ordinary microscope and which passes through a filter which stops ordinary germs. With the possible exception of smallpox it is the most contagious disease known to man, and, according to the United States Public Health Service, it is difficult to control because the symptoms of the disease are not obvious until about four days after infection. "The importance of measles is frequently underestimated," Dr. Victor C. Vaughan, Chairman of the division of medical sciences of the National Research

Council and one of America's leading epidemiologists, says, "and it has been commonly believed that the disease acts as a weeding-out process to eliminate the unfit at a very early age and does no harm to the strong. On the contrary, a study of measles in the United States Army camps during the World War revealed that a person who has recently had measles is ten times more likely to die from pneumonia than one who has not. There is great probability that the work of Drs. Bernard, Debre and Joannon will lead to an eventual control of the disease."

#### A CURE FOR DIABETES INSIPIDUS

A cure for diabetes insipidus, a disease which is characterized by the excessive elimination of water by the system, may soon be won by medical science. The first step toward this end has been made by Dr. Helen Bourquin, Professor of Physiology at the University of South Dakota, who has duplicated in animals all the symptoms of the disease as they are exhibited by afflicted humans. Application of electric cautery to the pituitary, a small gland in the head, was the procedure which resulted in experimental diabetes insipidus in dogs. The discovery appears to have revealed the mechanism which regulates the amount of water in the body. The operation leads to actual drying up of the animal if the water intake is restricted. The disease appears to be due to the discharge into the blood of something which stimulates the kidneys powerfully.

#### LARGE SUN SPOTS VISIBLE

No other body in the universe is of more concern to those of us on earth than the sun. It is therefore of interest to know that the sun is now in an excited state. One large group of sun spots has appeared on its face and the electrons that this gigantic whirlpool area in the sun have sent to earth have caused magnetic storms, disrupting telegraphic communication and affecting the earth's magnetism.

The large sun spot, visible even to the unaided eye through smoked glass, disappeared on Jan. 31 when the sun's rotation carried across the disk from east to west, is due to return. Since the time it was first seen last November, this large spot



has crossed the solar disk three times. Large spots usually survive for several months and sometimes as long as a year. As the sun rotates on its axis once in about twenty-five to thirty-eight days, a spot is carried across the disk from east to west, but the rotation is not uniform for all parts of the sun. Spots on the solar equator cross the disk most rapidly, indicating that for that part of the sun the rotation period is about twenty-five days, while near the poles of the sun the rotation is much slower.

#### SUCCESS OF ECLIPSE EXPEDITIONS

The various expeditions of astronomers from the United States to Sumatra to observe the eclipse of Jan. 14 were generally successful. Dr. John A. Miller, leader of the Swarthmore College eclipse expedition located at Benkoelen, Sumatra, reported observations through a sky thinly clouded. Plates were not seriously affected, except possibly those made with the Einstein camera to test the deflection of star light near the sun. The corona was of the type usually associated with maximum sun spot activity and some very large prominences were visible. Captain F. B. Littell, in charge of the party from the United States Naval Observatory, has sent word that the sky was partly clear at Tebbinge-Tinggi, where the naval astronomers were located. Dr. Harlan T. Stetson of Harvard University has reported to the Harvard Observatory that his observations were made through thin clouds, but were partially successful. The Harvard party, including also Dr. W. W. Coblentz of the United States Bureau of Standards, was located on the west coast of Sumatra, not far from the Swarthmore College expedition at Benkoelen. Months of study of the observations and photographs made will be necessary before definite results of the expeditions can be announced, however.

The regular round shape of the sun's corona as observed at this eclipse is what was to be expected because of the great number of spots that have appeared recently on the face of the sun. Between eclipse the shape of the corona cannot be determined because the filmy, pearly radiance haloing the sun can be seen from earth only during the time of total eclipse.

The last sun spot maximum occurred in July, 1917, so if the period is the normal eleven years, the next should occur in 1928. Recent sun spot activity, however, indicates that there will be either an earlier maximum or one of greater intensity than usual.

#### THE EVOLUTION OF STARS

Things are not always what they seem and stars with all the signs of old age may really be in their youth, astronomically speaking, according to the latest views of Dr. Henry Norris Russell, Professor of Astronomy at Princeton University. Dr. Russell's ideas on stellar evolution have been widely accepted among astronomers, but one difficulty that has puzzled them has been the fact that stars of nearly every possible type may occur in the same cluster. These different types are supposed to represent various stages in the normal evolutionary sequence, but it has also been thought that all the stars in the same cluster were formed at approximately the same time. According to the latest improvements of his theory, however, Dr. Russell supposed that all the stars proceed through the same general source of evolution, but some are handicapped. The most massive ones start at the beginning, but those of less mass may start at the middle of the scale, without having passed through the earlier stages, while those of least mass start near the end. As a result, if a large number of stars are formed at about the same time, the ones of small mass will be almost immediately in the same condition that their more massive brethren will only reach after many billions of years. The astronomer, examining their light with his spectroscope, will find them of different types and may think them to be of different ages. Dr. Russell thinks that the source of energy of the stars, at one time thought to be due to a gradual contraction of their bodies, may be supplemented by actual conversion of their matter into energy, as proposed by Professor Eddington of Cambridge University, England. The suggestion is made by Dr. Russell that a star may at first contract, and then, after it has reached a certain point, cease contracting and use up its actual substance by conversion to energy.

# Armies and Navies of the World

## THE UNITED STATES

**I**NTEREST in national defense during the month was centred upon, first, the annual report of Major Gen. John L. Hines, Chief of Staff of the United States Army, which was made public in Washington on Dec. 26, and, second, upon the testimony given by Secretary of War Dwight F. Davis before the House Military Affairs Committee at a hearing on Jan. 7.

The main feature of General Hines's report was the announcement of the perfection of a new anti-aircraft gun, which, General Hines stated, has a velocity of 3,000 feet per second, a possible vertical range of 15,000 feet and a visible trajectory range of 10,000 feet. "This gun," the report added, "should assist materially in solving the problem of defense against aircraft." Commenting upon the Army and Navy manoeuvres which were held last year off the Hawaiian Islands, General Hines stated that "these exercises, the most extensive ever conducted by the combined armed forces of the nation, served the double purpose of testing the defenses of our Western outpost of Oahu and of training the army and navy in joint operations."

Secretary Davis testified before the House Military Affairs Committee in favor of the adoption of a program for construction of permanent barracks for the United States Army. Mr. Davis declared that nearly one-half of the army, or 2,557 officers and 41,985 men, were being housed under temporary shelter during the Winter of 1925-1926. He strongly urged the need of immediate action to remedy this situation. Secretary Davis characterized existing conditions as "uneconomical, unfair to personnel and dangerous to health and life."

## FRANCE

**T**HE recent enactment of legislation authorizing a reduction of the French Army in the interest of economy was condemned by Nationalist leaders during a

discussion of army estimates in the Chamber of Deputies in December. M. Bouil-loux-Lapont, the Official Reporter, urged an increase in the army appropriations, declaring that the continuation of the present policy of economy would imperil the security of the nation. Jean Fabry supported the Reporter and pointed out that the French military forces recently had been reduced by 100,000 men. M. Fabry gave the figures of the existing French army as follows: 335,000 of the yearly class, 75,000 professional soldiers, 180,000 native troops and 16,000 to 18,000 civilians employed on military work. M. Fabry said that the reduction had devitalized the thirty-two divisions which comprised the army and he urged that the divisions be reduced in number and strengthened in personnel. Under the present arrangement, he said, "the whole military edifice was threatened with ruin." Pursuant to the suggestion of M. Fabry, M. Painlevé, the Minister of War, on Jan. 28 laid before the Chamber of Deputies a bill reducing the total of divisions in the French Army to twenty, which would be maintained at full strength.

The new French cruiser, Duquesne, was launched at Brest on Dec. 17. The Duquesne, a 10,000-ton vessel, is an oil-burner of 120,000 horse power capacity, with a speed of 34-35 knots. She carries eight 8-inch, eight 2.9-inch and eight 3 pr. A-A guns, and two triple torpedo tubes. The vessel is fitted with a catapult and carries two seaplanes.

## SOUTH AFRICA

**C**OLONEL F. H. P. CRESWELL, Minister of Defense in the South African Government, announced on Dec. 31, 1925, that the Union intended to reduce its standing army from 10,000 men to 8,000. Consistent with this plan, the number of military districts would be reduced from fifteen to six. The Minister said the new policy was necessary in order to cut the swollen wartime expenditure of the Union to peacetime limits. He stated that the

reduction would entail no impairment of the Union's defenses, and added that the army aviation estimates would be increased.

#### IRISH FREE STATE

**PLANS** for a reduction in the army of the Irish Free State were made public in Dublin on Jan. 14. The reduction, it was stated, was made possible through the recent adjustment of the boundary dispute between North and South Ireland. The Free State Government planned to disband three brigades, comprising 300 officers and 5,000 men. This represents a financial saving of £5,000,000 (approximately \$24,000,000) annually.

#### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

**THE** National Army of the Republic of Czechoslovakia came into its own on Jan. 1 when the French Military Mission, which had hitherto filled all important posts, withdrew from official participation in the army command. The vacant places were filled by native Czechoslovak officers. The Czechoslovak Army was first organized as an emergency unit during the World War. With the advent of peace the Prague Government invited the aid of French experts in reorganizing the army on a national basis. This step was taken because of the extreme youth and inexperience of the Czechoslovak officers. The French Mission trained these officers in military organization and administration, and prepared them for the task of commanding the Czechoslovak Army. The new leaders are all young men, not one being more than fifty years of age. They learned the art

of war on the battlefield, having served through the World War on the side of the Allies. General Sirovy, who became Chief of the Czechoslovak General Staff upon the withdrawal of the French Mission, was a civilian before 1914, having followed the profession of architect. During the latter part of the World War General Sirovy commanded an army of 70,000 Czechs. Commenting upon the personality of the new chief of staff, European newspapers remarked that he is "one of the best loved of military men—and a brave fighter."

#### BELGIUM

**THE** Belgian Chamber of Deputies on Dec. 30 passed the Army Reduction bill. This measure fixed the active strength of the army for 1926 at 77,300 men, which is 5,300 less than for 1925. The bill also stipulated that the period of service for the infantry be reduced from 12 months to 10 months, and the period of service for the special and technical arms be reduced from 13 to 12 months.

#### RUSSIA

**THE** new military policy of the Soviet Government lays especial stress upon the importance of army morale. Discussing this question in an address at Leningrad on Jan. 17, Voroshilov, the Soviet Commissar of War, said:

The Red Army is already superior to all European bourgeois armies in the political consciousness of the soldiers' discipline, firmness and morale. Within a few years our technique will overtake, perhaps even outstrip, the technique of capitalistic countries.



# Poincare's Criticism of the Locarno Pacts

By ALEXANDER GOURVITCH

RAYMOND POINCARÉ, in *La Revue Belge*,  
Brussels, January 1, 1926.

EX-PREMIER POINCARÉ of France views the Locarno Pacts primarily as a negation of certain guarantees which France and Belgium had secured under the Treaty of Versailles. Thus, while the pacts contain a collective guarantee of the provisions of Article 42 and 43 of the Versailles Treaty relative to the demilitarized Rhine zone, it seems at the same time—and Sir Austen Chamberlain has frankly interpreted it in this manner—to have done away with Article 44 of the Peace Treaty, which provided for effective sanctions in the event of a violation of the demilitarization pledge by Germany. Under the Locarno settlement, such a violation will no longer warrant military action by France or by Belgium, except if the violation is "flagrant," if it constitutes an "unprovoked act of aggression," and if "by reason of the gathering of armed forces in the demilitarized zone immediate action becomes necessary." Nor will France or Belgium be permitted to judge as to whether such infraction has been committed. The only recourse they will have will be to submit the matter to the Council of the League of Nations, which will pass upon it without their participation. "It is thus certain that we give up \* \* \* some of the guarantees that were granted us at Versailles. In return, we obtain from the Reich a pledge whose value will be entirely dependent upon the future mentality of Germany, and we obtain from England and from Italy a promise of arbitration rather than one of assistance."

The arbitration agreements concluded at Locarno, and which refer to Germany's relations with both her Western and her Eastern neighbors, undoubtedly mark an appreciable progress in international relations. However, while Germany formally recognizes that the rights established by treaties are binding upon future international tribunals, she actually does not miss any occasion to show that she has not renounced her intention to obtain a revision of her Eastern frontiers. Furthermore, Germany has been growingly insistent upon the fulfillment of various promises which she pretends to have informally received at Locarno, such as the evacuation of Cologne and a modification of occupation in the rest of the Rhineland, a change in the Sarre régime, a

most-favored-nation provision in the commercial treaty under negotiation with France, and so forth.

The contention that Locarno has guaranteed France's security and has thus opened the way to general disarmament, is premature. "Powerful though the spirit of Locarno may be, we are unfortunately not sure that it may alone prove of sufficient strength to guard the Rhine. Before we rely unreservedly upon the effectiveness of its action we want to see it at work. We do not know as yet if it will breathe an even warmth everywhere. We have no doubt but that it will easily drive Belgium and France upon the blossoming paths of peace; but before we throw down our guns, we want to see whether Germany will not venture upon a different route. It is not only our national security that is at stake, it is the peace of the world. We have fought victoriously for right and for liberty; we shall not allow them to be jeopardized."

## An Italian View of Locarno

FRANCISCO COPPOLA, in *Politica*, Rome,  
July-August, 1925 (published Dec. 20, 1925)

CONTRARY to the contention commonly made that the Locarno Pacts constitute a partial application of the Geneva Protocol, the writer of this article maintains that it actually amounts to a negation of the protocol. The latter provided for a rigid and universal system of enforced peace, which would sanction the artificially established *status quo* and would refuse to discriminate between the objects, causes and circumstances of eventual international controversies. The Locarno settlement, on the contrary, is not an attempt at a universal solution *a priori*, but a private treaty of the traditional, classical type, a treaty of peace and guarantee similar to those that have been usually concluded at the end of great wars, when the belligerents required a certain period of rest to recuperate their strength. It is a treaty of a more local nature than that of the Holy Alliance, which embraced all territories of the three emperors, while only one frontier of Germany was dealt with at Locarno. It is also an altogether private arrangement as far as the participants are concerned—an agreement between three States, with two others acting as arbitrators and guarantors. The League of Nations figures in the arrangement



merely as an arbiter agreed upon by the interested parties, otherwise all negotiations were conducted between the latter, outside of the League and without its interference or influence.

The failure of the Geneva Protocol was due to its abstractly, legalistic, automatic, anti-historical nature, and it is the adherence to historical reality that has made the strength of the Locarno Pacts. As far as Italy is concerned, she was opposed to the Geneva Protocol because it was anti-historical and absurd, immoral, impracticable, equivalent to an organization of universal, perpetual war, against the sentiments and the interests of the peoples, rather than an organization of peace, and, above all, because it was in fundamental opposition to Italy's vital need of territorial expansion, to allow an outlet for her surplus population and provide her with sources of raw materials. To avoid ruin and slavery, Italy must acquire new territories—outside of Europe, of course. Inasmuch as no territories will evidently be offered to her, she will eventually have to take them, which will imply a change in the political system now prevailing in the Mediterranean and in the colonial empires of the European nations. To accomplish this, an act of force will be necessary, though it will not have necessarily to be directed against any of the great European powers, which may be counted upon to have enough sense not to resist blindly what is a vital historical necessity for Italy. The Geneva Protocol, a pact of universal immobility, could not, therefore, be accepted by Italy, let alone the question of pledging her blood to protect it. The Locarno Pacts are, on the contrary, welcome to Italy as to the other powers.

The motives that led to Locarno are, on the one hand, of a general nature, namely, the necessity of clearing from the political atmosphere France's obsession of security, which has been weighing upon international relations and interfering with economic rehabilitation, and, above all, the sentiment of European solidarity in the face of the simultaneous menace from the East and from the West: the anti-European revolution in Asia and in Africa, led by Moscow, and the accumulation of gold and power by the United States, which has become the creditor and banker of Europe and aspires to become the judge presiding over European affairs.

Of more decisive importance have been the special motives of the several powers. To Germany the Locarno Pacts mean the end of her isolation, the elimination of the danger of a three-power compact directed against her, an opportunity to demand a revision of her Eastern frontiers, security from a French invasion, while her own pledges imply only abstention from such action as she anyway is in no position to undertake

in her present condition. Germany also apparently intends to take advantage of Locarno to demand a restitution of her colonies, but any such move will meet with a most determined opposition on Italy's part as long as her own colonial aspirations have not been satisfied. France had no choice between Locarno or nothing at all, after the failure of her successive attempts to protect her security by treaties, alliances, territorial annexations, or "sanctions." Locarno does not give her security, but even the illusion of security will be helpful by relieving her of the constant obsession of danger. To the Cartel of the Left parties in particular, Locarno is valuable as a condemnation of the policy of Poincaré and the Nationalists. As regards the guarantors, England and Italy, they actually assume no new obligations under the Pact, as they remain free to decide for themselves when and whether their intervention is necessary. On the other hand, England derives the advantage of completely isolating Russia, definitely discarding the Protocol of Geneva as well as the plans of a three-power compact, and, for a time at least, of stabilizing the European equilibrium. Italy benefits by the elimination of the three-power compact, which would have placed her in a secondary position,



#### BRITISH PEACE POLICY

"Yes, that is our new formidable bombing airplane. With control of the seas, with control of the air—"

"Yes, I see—you are preparing for disarmament."  
—*Le Rire, Paris.*

by the establishment of an equilibrium between Germany and France, which will allow her a certain freedom of movement, by the weakening of the alliances between France and the new Slav States, which were directed both against Germany and against Italy; by the fact that she figures as a guarantor of the frontiers of other countries, while her own frontiers are not guaranteed, which will entitle her to claim the right to maintain comparatively larger armaments when the question of international disarmament comes up for discussion; finally, by her position as guarantor, on an equal footing with England, and practically as a substitute for America, which will contribute to enhance her prestige by placing her morally, and consequently, politically as well, above the two contesting powers, France and Germany.

Locarno has caused general satisfaction. In fact, it is nothing more than a truce, but one that everybody desired and hailed with joy. That desire was due to some extent to the menace of revolution from the East and that of economic servitude from the West, and the truce will last the longer the more strongly Europe feels that menace. But, above all, the peoples of Europe are tired. They are all, with the exception of Italy, passing through a period of moral depression and they are longing for a rest, a breathing spell of optimistic tranquillity, of relaxation. And that is supplied by Locarno, whose success is due to these subjective causes rather than to any objective accomplishments, inasmuch as the question of security has in no way been solved,

and nothing has been changed in the actual relation of national forces.

## Locarno From a German Angle

RUDOLPH BREITSCHIED, in *Die Gesellschaft* (Socialist Monthly), Berlin, December, 1925.

THE writer of this article points out that the Locarno agreement is a logical conclusion of the "policy of fulfillment," which had been advocated by the Socialists and other parties of the Left, and which Chancellor Wirth had endeavored to follow despite the opposition of the Conservatives and Nationalists. That policy had never implied an admission of the moral justification of the claims made against Germany by her enemies. The attempts of the Stresemann press to oppose the settlement achieved at Locarno to the "policy of fulfillment" are thus based upon misrepresentation of the record of the republican parties. In addition, that press campaign threatens to arouse suspicion abroad and to injure Germany's cause, just as the policy of the opponents of "fulfillment," under the Cuno Government, helped Poincaré and the French Nationalists to carry on their policy of sanctions.

The Locarno Pact may be criticized on many grounds. It does not restore Germany to a position of equality. The Versailles Treaty remains in force, and consequently the lack of proportion between Germany's armaments and those of her neighbors is maintained. The occupation is likewise continued, as are also the one-sided provisions for the demilitarization of the Rhine zone. The arbitration provisions are inadequate in that

they maintain the distinction between legal and political questions, for which the German Government is chiefly responsible. Nevertheless, Locarno marks the end of the period of dictatorship of the victors over conquered Germany. Germany's entrance into the League of Nations will afford an opportunity for improvement of the settlements now concluded.

What is valuable, above all, is the spirit of Locarno. Both the Western Pact and the arbitration treaties had been urged by the Socialist International for years since the time, in fact, when those demands met with nothing but scorn and contempt. Now that the new spirit is here it has to be kept alive, so that Locarno may be a starting point



MUSSOLINI'S COPYISTS

At first they laughed at him, but now they all want a copy of him.—Il 420, Florence, Italy.



THE FORGED FRENCH BANKNOTES

Hungarian Musician: "No, thank you! I make them myself."—*De Groene Amsterdammer*.

on the way to the United States of Europe.

### Soviet Democracy

E. STALINSKY, in *Volia Rossii* (Russian Socialist Anti-Soviet Monthly), Prague, December, 1925.

THE motto of "Soviet Democracy," which has become prominent of late in the speeches of Soviet leaders and in the Communist press, is interpreted by the writer of this article as marking the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the Russian revolution. The Bolshevik dictatorship was a necessity during the period of economic disintegration and of relapse into primitive economic relationships, which had been brought about by Communist experimentation. With the revival of normal economic activities, the old opposition between classes and economic groups has reappeared and its existence in the Soviet Republic is now admitted by the republic's leaders. This has led, as a further result,

to a growing desire among the masses for political activity. Realizing that they are powerless to stem this movement, the Communists have chosen to sanction it. Hence "Soviet Democracy," with its implications, a greater share allowed the masses of the workers in the affairs of the official labor unions, and a more real representation of the peasants in the local Soviets. This is a new departure, which is as important as was the inauguration of the New Economic Policy in 1921. The Communists, it is true, while proclaiming the advent of democracy, insist at the same time upon the necessity of preserving the "firm leadership" of their party. There can be no doubt, however, adds this writer, that Communist control over subsequent political events will proven even less practicable than its control over economic developments since 1921.

### French Parliamentary Crisis

GEORGES GUY-GRAND, in *La Grande Revue*, Paris, December, 1925.

THE writer points with a certain alarm at the growing dissatisfaction with the functioning of Parliament and the ever more insistent demand for a strong Government, manifested not only in the several varieties of Fascismo that have appeared in France of late, but also in statements made by persons and organizations belonging to the democratic bloc. France is living through a "crisis of authority," which the Parliamentary republic must solve if it is to survive. In spite of the shortcomings of the Parliamentary régime and of universal suffrage, the republic may afford a solution that will be in better accord with national needs than the combination of a political dictatorship with a representation of economic interests which is advocated by the anti-Parliamentarians.



# Progressive Steps That Led to Locarno Pacts

By CHRISTINA MERRIAM

Secretary, Foreign Policy Association

THE treaties concluded at Locarno were the culmination—in a regional and partial solution—of the post-war discussion of European security. Some of the major European attempts to solve this problem of security and its twin sister, disarmament, in the seven years leading down to Locarno, may be traced very briefly.

The first attempt was in 1919, when the French delegates to the Paris Peace Conference made three demands:

(1) That the western frontiers of Germany be fixed at the Rhine.

(2) That the Rhine frontiers be occupied permanently by an interallied force under the League of Nations; and

(3) That one or more independent states be created on the left bank of the Rhine.

Moreover, the French members of the commission drafting the Covenant of the League of Nations proposed to make of the League a strong defensive alliance with an international army and an international general staff. Since the French proposals were not adopted, France has never considered the Treaty of Versailles alone an adequate guarantee of security.

In order to reassure France the Tripartite Pact was then put forward in 1919 by President Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George. It proposed that Great Britain and the United States should jointly assist France in case of unprovoked aggression on the part of Germany. But it was not put through, because the Senate of the United States failed to ratify it, which automatically released Great Britain from her joint pledge.

The Treaty of Versailles itself provided for the permanent demilitarization of the left bank of the Rhine and certain zones on the right bank, also for drastic reduction and limitation of German armament under the supervision of the Allied Commission of Control. Moreover, the Allies

were to occupy the Rhine bridgeheads for fifteen years, the occupation to be partially withdrawn over periods of five and ten years—final evacuation to be contingent upon Germany's fulfillment of her obligations under the treaty. And Great Britain attributed her refusal to evacuate Cologne on Jan. 10, 1925, as provided in the treaty, to the report of the Interallied Commission of Control that Germany had failed to carry out all the disarmament provisions of the treaty.

Before this, however, France had sought security in other directions, and had entered into a military convention with Belgium and into treaties of alliance with Poland and with Czechoslovakia. With the friendly cognizance of France there was formed also the so-called Little Entente, which binds together by treaty Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia.

Meanwhile the idea of an Anglo-French alliance had never been wholly abandoned. In 1922 Lloyd George proposed to Briand, at Cannes, a treaty similar to the defunct Tripartite Treaty of 1919. Under this new proposal Great Britain engaged to come to the aid of France in the case of "unprovoked aggression against the soil of France" by Germany. But this was doomed to failure, as was the substitute draft later proposed by Briand's successor, M. Poincaré. For the French felt they must have a guarantee which would cover also the Eastern frontiers of Germany, and to this Great Britain would not assent.

Parallel with these efforts, covering three years, the League of Nations was attempting to carry out Article VIII of the Covenant, which enjoined the Council to formulate plans for the "reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations." The 1922 Assembly



of the League of Nations was the first to endorse the conclusion arrived at after months of study by the Disarmament Commission of the League that disarmament and security were indissolubly linked.

At the 1923 Assembly of the League of Nations the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance, sometimes called the Cecil-Réquin Treaty, which embodied a rather intricate system of sanctions and made provision for defensive alliances, was referred by the Assembly to the States Members of the League, but not approved by the requisite number of Parliaments.

#### FAILURE OF GENEVA PROTOCOL

Its successor, the justly famous Geneva Protocol of the 1924 Assembly of the League of Nations, was conceived in an uprush of liberalism in which the Labor Government of Great Britain and the Herriot Government of France vied with each other in a will to peace that brought forth the definition of an aggressor as that nation which refused to go to court to arbitrate its differences. The Protocol was formally rejected by the British Conservative Government, headed by Stanley Baldwin, largely because of objections raised by the British Dominions. But the advocates of the Protocol insist that the spirit of the document is alive, if only because of its vital definition of an aggressor.

Nevertheless, we must note that the Protocol failed of adoption.

We must now turn back for a moment to 1922 for the direct forerunner of the Locarno Treaties. In December of that year Chancellor Cuno of Germany proposed that France, Germany, Great Britain and Italy "engage themselves toward one another and promise the United States not to go to war for at least a generation, say thirty years," unless war was decided upon by popular vote, which Cuno declared would make war virtually impossible. The Allies were then involved in the long-drawn-out dispute with Germany over reparation payments. Cuno's proposal was flatly rejected and characterized by Poincaré as a "clumsy manoeuvre" on the eve of a new conference on reparations.

A month later, in January, 1923, France occupied the Ruhr, and Franco-German relations became so strained that German overtures toward European security went temporarily into the discard. But in February, 1925, Germany again brought forward her proposals, rewritten, expanded and much more definite. After several exchanges of notes those proposals were accepted as a basis for discussion, which brings us down to the conference, the deliberations of which resulted in the conclusion on Oct. 16, 1925, of the treaties of security and arbitration, since associated with the name of Locarno.



# The United States Joins the World Court With Reservations

By PHILIP MARSHALL BROWN

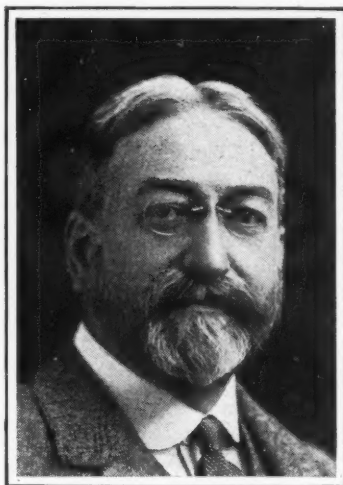
Professor of International Law, Princeton University, and a member of the Board of Current History Associates

MUCH significance has been attached to the ratification of the Protocol of the Permanent Court of International Justice (the World Court) by the United States Senate on Jan. 27, 1926. The final vote was 76 in favor and 17 against. The abrupt termination of the debate and this final vote was obtained only by the application of cloture for the first time in fifty years.

The five reservations and the two resolutions accompanying the Senate's ratification of the Protocol are of great interest, particularly the provision that the final signature of the United States shall await the acceptance of these reservations by the powers who have already signed the Protocol. This would seem to imply that the refusal of any power to accept these reservations would preclude the United States from active adherence to the Court. It is not clear whether the desired action by those States is to be secured by direct negotiations by the United States, by indirect negotiations through the Secretariat of the League of Nations, or, as has been suggested, by the vote of the special Assembly of the League which may be summoned in March to act on the application of Germany for membership in the League. The reservation concerning the giving of advisory opinions by the Court would seem to require consideration by the Court itself. Concerning the reservation requiring agreements for the submission of cases

to the Court, it should be noted that this may be done by "general" as well as by "special" treaties, which would not seem to require the separate assent by the Senate to every case which may be submitted to the Court.

One thing is clear—namely, that, whatever happens, the United States, according to Article 35 of the Statute of the Court, is always free to have recourse to the Court and may contribute its proper share of expenses in each case. The formal adherence of the United States to the Court is, therefore, of more moral significance than of practical import—a gesture of sympathy and approval rather than an act of legal significance. As an independent tribunal dealing primarily with judicial matters, the Court is not dependent on the support of any individual nation or subject to any special influence. For these reasons it would seem as if a distorted importance has been given to the whole subject of American adherence to the Protocol of the Court. Attempts have been made to interpret this action as being a significant step toward membership in the League of Nations. President Coolidge in an authorized statement from the White House on Feb. 2, 1926, made clear that the approval of the Court in no way implied any alteration in the policy of the United States of political detachment concerning the affairs of Europe and the League of Nations.



JOHN BASSETT MOORE  
The American member of the  
International Court of Justice  
(World Court)

## THE LEAGUE'S INVITATION

The original communication from the League of Nations to the President of the United States was as follows:

The secretary general of the League of Nations has the honor to forward herewith to the Government of the United States of America a certified copy of the protocol of signature relating to the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, provided for by article 14 of the covenant of the League of Nations, together with the signatures already affixed by the representatives of the members of the league, and the declarations relating to the optional clause concerning compulsory jurisdiction.

The secretary general of the League of Nations has the honor at the same time to draw the attention of the Government of the United States of America to the importance of ratifications being deposited as speedily as possible.

According to the terms of paragraph 3 of the resolution relating to the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice, which was adopted by the assembly of the League of Nations at its meeting on December 13, 1920, the statute of the court will not come into force, and the court will not be called upon to sit, in conformity with the said statute, until this protocol has been ratified by the majority of the members of the league. The satisfactory fulfillment of this condition will alone enable the assembly of the League of Nations at its next meeting (which is to take place in September, 1921) to proceed to elect the judges, and thus to enable the court to be formed and to enter upon its duties at the beginning of the next year.

Further signatures to the protocol will be notified to the Government of the United States of America as and when they are appended.

The same procedure will be observed in the case of communications addressed to the secretariat by the various signatory powers with regard to their ratification of the protocol.

Certified copies of the various documents containing the ratifications will be communicated to the Government of the United States of America as and when they are deposited with the secretariat.

## THE SENATE'S RESOLUTIONS

The text of the Senate resolution, containing the reservations, as adopted on Jan. 27, 1926, is as follows:

Whereas the President, under date of February 24, 1923, transmitted a message to the Senate accompanied by a letter from the Secretary of State, dated February 17, 1923, asking the favorable advice and consent of the Senate to the adherence on the part of the United States to the protocol of December 16, 1920, of signature of the statute for the Permanent Court of International Justice, set out in the said message of the President—without accepting or agreeing to the optional clause for compulsory jurisdiction contained therein—upon the conditions and understand-

ings hereafter stated to be made a part of the instrument of adherence: Therefore be it

*Resolved (two-thirds of the Senators present concurring),* That the Senate advise and consent to the adherence on the part of the United States to the said protocol of December 16, 1920, and the adjoined statute for the Permanent Court of International Justice—without accepting or agreeing to the optional clause for compulsory jurisdiction contained in said statute—and that the signature of the United States be affixed to the said protocol, subject to the following reservations and understandings, which are hereby made a part and condition of this resolution, namely:

1. That such adherence shall not be taken to involve any legal relation on the part of the United States to the League of Nations or the assumption of any obligations by the United States under the treaty of Versailles.

2. That the United States shall be permitted to participate through representatives designated for the purpose and upon an equality with the other States, members, respectively, of the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations, in any and all proceedings of either the council or the assembly for the election of judges or deputy judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice or for the filling of vacancies.

3. That the United States will pay a fair share of the expenses of the court as determined and appropriated from time to time by the Congress of the United States.

4. That the United States may at any time withdraw its adherence to the said protocol, and that the statute for the Permanent Court of International Justice adjoined to the protocol shall not be amended without the consent of the United States.

5. That the court shall not render any advisory opinion except publicly after due notice to all States adhering to the court and to all interested States and after public hearing or opportunity for hearing given to any State concerned, nor shall it without the consent of the United States entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest.

The signature of the United States to the said protocol shall not be affixed until the powers signatory to such protocol shall have indicated, through an exchange of notes, their acceptance of the foregoing reservations and understandings as a part and a condition of adherence by the United States to the said protocol.

*Resolved further, as a part of this act of ratification,* That the United States approve the protocol and statute hereinabove mentioned, with the understanding that recourse to the Permanent Court of International Justice for the settlement of differences between the United States and any other State or States can be had only by agreement thereto through general or special treaties concluded between the parties in dispute; and

*Resolved further,* That adherence to the said protocol and statute hereby approved shall not be so construed as to require the United States to depart from its traditional policy of not intruding upon, interfering with, or entangling itself in the political questions of policy or internal administration of any foreign State, nor shall adherence to the said protocol and statute be construed to imply a relinquishment by the United States of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions.

## Text of the World Court Protocol

The following is the protocol of signature:

The members of the League of Nations, through the undersigned, duly authorized, declare their acceptance of the adjoined statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, which was approved by a unanimous vote of the Assembly of the League on the 13th December, 1920, at Geneva.

Consequently, they hereby declare that they accept the jurisdiction of the court in accordance with the terms and subject to the conditions of the above-mentioned statute.

The present protocol, which has been drawn up in accordance with the decision taken by the assembly

of the League of Nations on the 13th December, 1920, is subject to ratification. Each power shall send its ratification to the secretary general of the League of Nations; the latter shall take the necessary steps to notify such ratification to the other signatory powers. The ratification shall be deposited in the archives of the secretariat of the League of Nations.

The said protocol shall remain open for signature by the members of the League of Nations and by the states mentioned in the annex to the covenant of the league.

The statute of the court shall come into force as provided in the above-mentioned decision.

Executed at Geneva, in a single copy, the French

and English texts of which shall both be authentic.

DECEMBER 16, 1920.

The undersigned, being duly authorized thereto, further declare, on behalf of their Government, that, from this date they accept as compulsory "ipso facto" and without special convention the jurisdiction of the court in conformity with article 36, paragraph 2, of the statute of the court, under the following conditions:

*Statute for the Permanent Court of International Justice; provided for by article 14 of the covenant of the League of Nations.*

Art. 1.—A Permanent Court of International Justice is hereby established, in accordance with article 14 of the covenant of the League of Nations. This court shall be in addition to the court of arbitration organized by the conventions of The Hague of 1899 and 1907, and to the special tribunals of arbitration to which states are always at liberty to submit their disputes for settlement.

#### Chapter I—Organization of the Court.

Art. 2.—The Permanent Court of International Justice shall be composed of a body of independent judges, elected regardless of their nationality from amongst persons of high moral character, who possess the qualifications required in their respective countries for appointment to the highest judicial offices, or are jurisconsults of recognized competence in international law.

Art. 3.—The court shall consist of 15 members; 11 judges and 4 deputy judges. The number of judges and deputy judges may hereafter be increased by the assembly, upon the proposal of the Council of the League of Nations, to a total of 15 judges and 6 deputy judges.

Art. 4.—The members of the court shall be elected by the assembly and by the council from a list of persons nominated by the national groups in the court of arbitration, in accordance with the following provisions:

In the case of members of the League of Nations not represented in the permanent court of arbitration, the lists of candidates shall be drawn up by national groups appointed for this purpose by their governments under the same conditions as those prescribed for members of the permanent court of arbitration by article 44 of the convention of The Hague of 1907 for the pacific settlement of international disputes.

Art. 5.—At least three months before the date of the election, the secretary general of the League of Nations shall address a written request to the members of the court of arbitration belonging to the states mentioned in the annex to the covenant or to the states which join the league subsequently, and to the persons appointed under paragraph 2 of article 4, inviting them to undertake, within a given time, by national groups, the nomination of persons in a position to accept the duties of a member of the court.

The judges shall receive an annual indemnity to be determined by the assembly of the League of Nations upon the proposal of the council. This indemnity must not be decreased during the period of a judge's appointment.

The President shall receive a special grant for his period of office, to be fixed in the same way.

The Vice President, judges, and deputy judges shall receive a grant for the actual performance of their duties, to be fixed in the same way.

Traveling expenses incurred in the performance of their duties shall be refunded to judges and deputy judges who do not reside at the seat of the court.

Grants due to judges selected or chosen as provided in article 31 shall be determined in the same way.

The salary of the registrar shall be decided by the council upon the proposal of the court.

The assembly of the League of Nations shall lay down, on the proposal of the council, a special regulation fixing the conditions under which retiring pensions may be given to the personnel of the court.

No group may nominate more than four persons, not more than two of whom shall be of their own nationality. In no case must the number of candidates nominated be more than double the number of seats to be filled.

Art. 6.—Before making these nominations, each national group is recommended to consult its high-

est court of justice, its legal faculties and schools of law, and its national academies and national sections of international academies devoted to the study of law.

Art. 7.—The secretary general of the League of Nations shall prepare a list in alphabetical order of all the persons thus nominated. Save as provided in article 12, paragraph 2, these shall be the only persons eligible for appointment.

The secretary general shall submit this list to the assembly and to the council.

Art. 8.—The assembly and the council shall proceed independently of one another to elect, firstly the judges, then the deputy judges.

Art. 9.—At every election the electors shall bear in mind that not only should all the persons appointed as members of the court possess the qualifications required but the whole body also should represent the main forms of civilization and the principal legal systems of the world.

Art. 10.—Those candidates who obtain an absolute majority of votes in the assembly and in the council shall be considered as elected.

In the event of more than one national of the same member of the League being elected by the votes of both the assembly and the council the eldest of these only shall be considered as elected.

Art. 11.—If after the first meeting held for the purpose of the election one or more seats remain to be filled, a second and, if necessary, a third meeting shall take place.

Art. 12.—If after the third meeting one or more seats still remain unfilled, a joint conference consisting of six members, three appointed by the assembly and three by the council, may be formed at any time at the request of either the assembly or the council for the purpose of choosing one name for each seat still vacant to submit to the assembly and the council for their respective acceptance.

If the conference is unanimously agreed upon any person who fulfills the required conditions, he may be included in its list, even though he was not included in the list of nominations referred to in articles 4 and 5.

If the joint conference is satisfied that it will not be successful in procuring an election, those members of the court who have already been appointed shall, within a period to be fixed by the council, proceed to fill the vacant seats by selection from amongst those candidates who have obtained votes either in the assembly or in the council.

In the event of an equality of votes amongst the judges the eldest judge shall have a casting vote.

Art. 13.—The members of the court shall be elected for nine years.

They may be reelected.

They shall continue to discharge their duties until their places have been filled. Though replaced, they shall finish any cases which they may have begun.

Art. 14.—Vacancies which may occur shall be filled by the same method as that laid down for the first election. A member of the court elected to replace a member whose period of appointment had not expired will hold the appointment for the remainder of his predecessor's term.

Art. 15.—Deputy judges shall be called upon to sit in the order laid down in a list.

This list shall be prepared by the court and shall have regard firstly to priority of election and secondly to age.

Art. 16.—The ordinary members of the court may not exercise any political or administrative function. This provision does not apply to the deputy judges except when performing their duties on the court.

Any doubt on this point is settled by the decision of the court.

Art. 17.—No member of the court can act as agent, counsel, or advocate in any case of an international nature. This provision only applies to the deputy judges as regards cases in which they are called upon to exercise their functions on the court.

No member may participate in the decision of any case in which he has previously taken an active part as agent, counsel, or advocate for one of the contesting parties, or as a member of a national or international court, or of a commission of inquiry, or in any other capacity.

Any doubt on this point is settled by the decision of the court.

Art. 18.—A member of the court cannot be dismissed





Judges of the International Court of Justice (World Court) at The Hague, John Bassett Moore, the United States member, being the second from the right

unless in the unanimous opinion of the other members he has ceased to fulfill the required conditions.

Formal notification thereof shall be made to the secretary general of the League of Nations by the registrar.

This notification makes the place vacant.

**Art. 19**—The members of the court, when engaged on the business of the court, shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

**Art. 20**—Every member of the court shall before taking up his duties make a solemn declaration in open court that he will exercise his powers impartially and conscientiously.

**Art. 21**—The court shall elect its president and vice president for three years; they may be reelected.

It shall appoint its registrar.

The duties of registrar of the court shall not be deemed incompatible with those of secretary general of the Permanent Court of Arbitration.

**Art. 22**—The seat of the court shall be established at The Hague.

The President and registrar shall reside at the seat of the court.

**Art. 23**—A session of the court shall be held every year.

Unless otherwise provided by rules of the court, this session shall begin on the 15th of June, and shall continue for so long as may be deemed necessary to finish the cases on the list.

The president may summon an extraordinary session of the court whenever necessary.

**Art. 24**—If for some special reason a member of the court considers that he should not take part in the decision of a particular case, he shall so inform the president.

If the president considers that for some special reason one of the members of the court should not sit on a particular case, he shall give him notice accordingly.

If in any such case the member of the court and the president disagree, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the court.

**Art. 25**—The full court shall sit, except when it is expressly provided otherwise.

If 11 judges cannot be present, the number shall be made up by calling on deputy judges to sit.

If, however, 11 judges are not available, a quorum of 9 judges shall suffice to constitute the court.

**Art. 26**—Labor cases, particularly cases referred to in part 13 (labor) of the treaty of Versailles and the corresponding portions of the other treaties of peace, shall be heard and determined by the court under the following conditions:

The court will appoint every three years a special chamber of five judges, selected so far as possible with due regard to the provisions of article 9. In addition two judges shall be selected for the purpose of replacing a judge who finds it impossible to sit.

If the parties so demand, cases will be heard and determined by this chamber. In the absence of any such demand the court will sit with the number of judges provided for in article 25. On all occasions the judges will be assisted by four technical assessors sitting with them, but without the right to vote and chosen with a view to insuring a just representation of the competing interests.

If there is a national of one only of the parties sitting as a judge in the chamber referred to in the preceding paragraph, the president will invite one of the other judges to retire in favor of a judge chosen by the other party in accordance with article 31.

The technical assessors shall be chosen for each particular case in accordance with rules of procedure under article 30 from a list of "assessors for labor cases," composed of two persons nominated by each member of the League of Nations and an equivalent number nominated by the governing body of the labor office. The governing body will nominate, as to one-half, representatives of the workers and, as to one-half, representatives of employers from the list referred to in article 412 of the treaty of Versailles and the corresponding articles of the other treaties of peace.

In labor cases the International Labor Office shall be at liberty to furnish the court with all relevant information, and for this purpose the director of that office shall receive copies of all the written proceedings.

**Art. 27**—Cases relating to transit and communications, particularly cases referred to in part 12 (ports, waterways, and railways) of the treaty of Versailles and the corresponding portions of the other treaties of peace, shall be heard and determined by the court under the following conditions:

The court will appoint every three years a special chamber of five judges, selected so far as possible with due regard to the provisions of article 9. In addition two judges shall be selected for the purpose of replacing a judge who finds it impossible to sit. If the parties so demand, cases will be heard and determined by this chamber. In the absence of any such demand the court will sit with the number of judges provided for in article 25. When desired by the parties or decided by the court, the judges will be assisted by four technical assessors sitting with them, but without the right to vote.

If there is a national of one only of the parties sitting as a judge in the chamber referred to in the preceding paragraph, the president will invite one of the other judges to retire in favor of a judge chosen by the other party in accordance with article 31.

The technical assessors shall be chosen for each particular case in accordance with rules of procedure under article 30 from a list of "assessors for transit and communications cases" composed of two



Map of part of Europe showing the pre-war boundaries of the leading countries

persons nominated by each member of the League of Nations.

*Art. 28*—The special chambers provided for in article 26 and 27 may, with the consent of the parties to the dispute, sit elsewhere than at The Hague.

*Art. 29*—With a view to the speedy despatch of business, the court shall form annually a chamber composed of three judges who, at the request of the contesting parties, may hear and determine cases by summary procedure.

*Art. 30*—The court shall frame rules for regulating its procedure. In particular, it shall lay down rules for summary procedure.

*Art. 31*—Judges of the nationality of each contesting party shall retain their right to sit in the case before the court.

If the court includes upon the bench a judge of the nationality of the contesting parties, each of these parties may select from among the deputy judges a judge of its nationality, if there be one. If there should not be one, the party may choose a judge, preferably from among those persons who have been nominated as candidates as provided in articles 4 and 5.

If the court includes upon the bench no judge of the nationality of the contesting parties, each of these may proceed to select or choose a judge as provided in the preceding paragraph.

Should there be several parties in the same interest, they shall, for the purpose of the preceding provisions, be reckoned as one party only. Any doubt upon this point is settled by the decision of the court.

Judges selected or chosen as laid down in paragraphs 2 and 3 of this article shall fulfill the conditions required by articles 2, 16, 17, 20, 24 of this statute. They shall take part in the decision on an equal footing with their colleagues.

*Art. 32*—the judges shall receive an annual indemnity to be determined by the assembly of the League of Nations upon the proposal of the council. This indemnity must not be decreased during the period of a judge's appointment.

The President shall receive a special grant for his period of office, to be fixed in the same way.

The Vice President, judges, and deputy judges shall receive a grant for the actual performance of their duties, to be fixed in the same way.

Traveling expenses incurred in the performance of their duties shall be refunded to judges and deputy judges who do not reside at the seat of the court.

Grants due to judges selected or chosen as provided in article 31 shall be determined in the same way.

The salary of the registrar shall be decided by the council upon the proposal of the court.

The assembly of the League of Nations shall lay down, on the proposal of the council a special regulation fixing the conditions under which retiring pensions may be given to the personnel of the court.

*Art. 33*—The expenses of the court shall be borne by the League of Nations in such a manner as shall be decided by the assembly upon the proposal of the council.

#### Chapter II—Competence of the Court.

*Art. 34*—Only states or members of the League of Nations can be parties in cases before the court.

*Art. 35*—The court shall be open to the members of the League and also to states mentioned in the annex to the covenant.

The conditions under which the court shall be open to other states shall, subject to the special provisions contained in treaties in force, be laid down by the council, but in no case shall such provisions place the parties in a position of inequality before the court.



Map of the same area shown in the other map on this page indicating the many territorial changes in Europe that have followed the World War

When a state which is not a member of the League of Nations is a party to a dispute, the court will fix the amount which that party is to contribute toward the expenses of the court.

*Art. 36*—The jurisdiction of the court comprises all cases which the parties refer to it and all matters specially provided for in treaties and conventions in force.

The members of the League of Nations and the states mentioned in the annex to the covenant may, either when signing or ratifying the protocol to which the present statute is adjoined or at a later moment, declare that they recognize as compulsory *ipso facto* and without special agreement, in relation to any other member or state accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the court in all or any of the classes of legal disputes concerning:

(a) The interpretation of a treaty;  
(b) Any question of international law;  
(c) The existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation;

(d) The nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

The declaration referred to above may be made unconditionally or on condition of reciprocity on the part of several or certain members or states, or for a certain time.

In the event of a dispute as to whether the court has jurisdiction, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the court.

*Art. 37*—When a treaty or convention in force provides for the reference of a matter to a tribunal to be instituted by the League of Nations, the court will be such tribunal.

*Art. 38*—The court shall apply:

1. International conventions, whether general or particular, establishing rules expressly recognized by the contesting states.

2. International custom, as evidence of a general practice accepted as law.

3. The general principles of law recognized by civilized nations.

4. Subject to the provisions of article 59, judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations as subsidiary means for the determination of rules of law.

This provision shall not prejudice the power of the court to decide a case *ex aequo et bono*, if the parties agree thereto.

### Chapter III—Procedure.

*Art. 39*—The official languages of the court shall be French and English. If the parties agree that the case shall be conducted in French, the judgment will be delivered in French. If the parties agree that the case shall be conducted in English, the judgment will be delivered in English. In the absence of an agreement as to which language shall be employed, each party may, in the pleadings, use the language which it prefers; the decision of the court will be given in French and English. In this case the court will at the same time determine which of the two texts shall be considered as authoritative.

The court may, at the request of the parties, authorize a language other than French or English to be used.

*Art. 40*—Cases are brought before the court, as the case may be, either by the notification of the special agreement, or by a written application addressed to the registrar. In either case the subject of the dispute and the contesting parties must be indicated.

The registrar shall forthwith communicate the application to all concerned.

He shall also notify the members of the League of Nations through the secretary general.

*Art. 41*—The court shall have the power to indicate, if it considers that circumstances so require, any provisional measures which ought to be taken to reserve the respective rights of either party.

Pending the final decision, notice of the measures suggested shall forthwith be given to the parties and the council.

*Art. 42*—The parties shall be represented by agents. They may have the assistance of counsel or advocates before the court.

*Art. 43*—The procedure shall consist of two parts: written and oral.

The written proceedings shall consist of the communication to the judges and to the parties of cases, counter-cases, and, if necessary, replies; also all papers and documents in support.

These communications shall be made through the registrar, in the order and within the time fixed by the court.

A certified copy of every document produced by one party shall be communicated to the other party.

The oral proceedings shall consist of the hearing by the court of witnesses, experts, agents, counsel and advocates.

*Art. 44*—For the service of all notices upon persons other than the agents, counsel, and advocates, the court shall apply direct to the government of the state upon whose territory the notice has to be served.

The same provision shall apply whenever steps are to be taken to procure evidence on the spot.

*Art. 45*—The hearing shall be under the control of the president or, in his absence, of the vice president; if both are absent, the senior judge shall preside.

*Art. 46*—The hearing in court shall be public, unless the court shall decide otherwise, or unless the parties demand that the public be not admitted.

*Art. 47*—Minutes shall be made at each hearing, and signed by the registrar and the president.

These minutes shall be the only authentic record.

*Art. 48*—The court shall make orders for the conduct of the case, shall decide the form and time in which each party must conclude its arguments, and make all arrangements connected with the taking of evidence.

*Art. 49*—The court may, even before the hearing begins, call upon the agents to produce any document or to supply any explanations. Formal note shall be taken of any refusal.

*Art. 50*—The court may at any time intrust any individual, body, bureau, commission, or other organization that it may select with the task of carrying out an inquiry or giving an expert opinion.

*Art. 51*—During the hearing any relevant questions are to be put to the witnesses and experts under the conditions laid down by the court in the rules of procedure referred to in article 30.

*Art. 52*—After the court has received the proofs and evidence within the time specified for the purpose, it may refuse to accept any further oral or written evidence that one party may desire to present unless the other side consents.

*Art. 53*—Whenever one of the parties shall not appear before the court, or shall fail to defend his case, the other party may call upon the court to decide in favor of his claim.

The court must, before doing so, satisfy itself not only that it has jurisdiction in accordance with articles 36 and 37, but also that the claim is well founded in fact and law.

*Art. 54*—When, subject to the control of the court, the agents, advocates, and counsel have completed their presentation of the case, the president shall declare the hearing closed.

The court shall withdraw to consider the judgment. The deliberations of the court shall take place in private and remain secret.

*Art. 55*—All questions shall be decided by a majority of the judges present at the hearing.

In the event of an equality of votes, the president or his deputy shall have a casting vote.

*Art. 56*—The judgment shall state the reasons on which it is based.

It shall contain the names of the judges who have taken part in the decision.

*Art. 57*—If the judgment does not represent in whole or in part the unanimous opinion of the judges, dissenting judges are entitled to deliver a separate opinion.

*Art. 58*—The judgment shall be signed by the president and by the registrar. It shall be read in open court, due notice having been given to the agents.

*Art. 59*—The decision of the court has no binding force except between the parties and in respect of that particular case.

*Art. 60*—The judgment is final and without appeal.



Keystone

A view of the White House from the Treasury Building

In the event of dispute as to the meaning or scope of the judgment, the court shall construe it upon the request of any party.

*Art. 61*—An application for revision of a judgment can be made only when it is based upon the discovery of some fact of such a nature as to be a decisive factor, which fact was, when the judgment was given, unknown to the court and also to the party claiming revision, always provided that such ignorance was not due to negligence.

The proceedings for revision will be opened by a judgment of the court expressly recording the existence of the new fact, recognizing that it has such a character as to lay the case open to revision, and declaring the application admissible on this ground.

The court may require previous compliance with the terms of the judgment before it admits proceedings in revision.

The application for revision must be made at latest within six months of the discovery of the new fact.

No application for revision may be made after the lapse of ten years from the date of the sentence.

*Art. 62*—Should a state consider that it has an interest of a legal nature which may be affected by the decision in the case, it may submit a request to the court to be permitted to intervene as a third party.

It will be for the court to decide upon this request.

*Art. 63*—Whenever the construction of a convention to which states other than those concerned in the case are parties is in question, the registrar shall notify all such states forthwith.

Every state so notified has the right to intervene in the proceedings; but if it uses this right, the construction given by the judgment will be equally binding upon it.

*Art. 64*—Unless otherwise decided by the court, each party shall bear its own costs.

#### JUDGES OF THE WORLD COURT

The following are the Judges of the World Court:

Rafael Altamira y Crevea (Spain).

Dionisio Anzilotti (Italy).

Antonio Sanchez de Bustamante y Sirven (Cuba).

Robert Bannatyne, Viscount Finlay (Great Britain).

Bernard C. J. Loder (Holland).

Yorozu Oda (Japan).

Charles Andre Weiss (France).

John Bassett Moore (U. S. A.).

Didrik Galtrup Gjedde Nyholm (Denmark).

Max Huber (Switzerland).

Epitacio da Silva Pessoa (Brazil).

The Deputy Judges are:

Dumitriu Negulescu (Rumania).

Wang Chung Hui (China).

Mikhailo Jovanovitch (Yugoslavia).

Frederick Valdemar Nikolai Beichmann (Norway).

Their salaries are \$6,030 to \$14,070 a year, depending on the amount of time the Court sits.







# THE HISTORIANS' CHRONICLE OF THE WORLD

*By the Board of Current History Associates*

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PERIOD ENDED FEBRUARY 12, 1926

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**The Outstanding Events of the Month....** ALBERT BUSHNELL HART  
Professor of Government, Harvard University, and Chairman Board of Current  
History Associates

**International Events .....** PHILIP MARSHALL BROWN  
Professor of International Law, Princeton University

**The United States.....** WILLIAM MACDONALD  
Lecturer on American History, Yale University

**Mexico and Central America.....** CHARLES W. HACKETT  
Associate Professor of Latin-American History, University of Texas

**South America .....** HARRY T. COLLINGS  
Professor of Economics, University of Pennsylvania

**The British Empire.....** RALSTON HAYDEN  
Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan

**France and Belgium.....** CARL BECKER  
Professor of History, Cornell University

**Germany and Austria.....** HARRY J. CARMAN  
Assistant Professor of History, Columbia University

**Italy .....** ELOISE ELLERY  
Professor of History, Vassar College

**Eastern Europe and the Balkans.....** FREDERIC A. OGG  
Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin

**Russia—Nations of Northern Europe.....** ARTHUR B. DARLING  
Assistant Professor of History, Yale University

**Other Nations of Europe.....** JOHN MARTIN VINCENT  
Professor Emeritus of European History, Johns Hopkins University

**Turkey and the Near East.....** ALBERT HOWE LYBYER  
Professor of History, University of Illinois

**The Far East.....** QUINCY WRIGHT  
Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago

# The Outstanding Events of the Month

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

Professor of Government, Harvard University, Chairman Board of  
Current History Associates

THE events visibly of special significance during the month were the conditional acceptance of the World Court protocol by the United States, the settlement of Italy's war debt to Great Britain; the postponement of the Disarmament Conference; the death of Premier Kato of Japan; the evacuation of the Cologne district by the British; the application of Germany for membership in the League of Nations; the growing tension between Mexico and the United States over the land laws; the weakening in Russia of the power of the Zinoviev faction which favored aggressive international communist propaganda; the growth in China of a firmer tendency for freedom from foreign control.

Easily most important and most observed of the transactions within the United States during the month was the adoption of the President's proposal that the United States adhere to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The craft has been a long time on the stocks. That Court was proposed by a group of American statesmen headed by Elihu Root in 1920. President Harding urged that the United States join with other nations in the Court. As far back as Feb. 24, 1923, President Coolidge asked, "the favorable advice and consent of the Senate" to adherence to the document which is practically the constitution of the Court, "without accepting or agreeing to the optional clause or compulsory jurisdiction contained therein." Action of the Senate has been delayed by the opposition of what has proved to be a small minority headed by Senator Borah. It had long been clear that a considerable majority of the Senators were in favor of the proposed action under qualifying reserva-

tions. Most of the regular Republicans stood in with the two successive Presidents of their party. Most of the Democrats saw in the proposal a kind of indication of the attitude of President Wilson on world combination.

Debate began in the Senate on Dec. 17. When it became evident that Borah and less conspicuous Senators were trying to organize a filibuster, the Senate made use of Rule 22 under which, by a two-thirds vote of the Senators, debate on a pending measure may be restricted to two legislative days. The rule was on Jan. 25 made operative by a vote of 68 to 26 and the resolutions accepting the protocol with specific reservations were carried on Jan. 27 by a vote of 76 to 7. [The full text of the resolutions and the protocol appears on Pages 869-874.]

Although some enthusiastic friends of the League of Nations have already given notice that they consider the decision of the Senate only a preliminary step to joining the League, it looks as if this degree of adhesion to world organization was regarded by those responsible for it as a prophylactic, a safe and revocable evidence of good-will and a spirit of co-operation. Although the refusal of any one of forty-three nations to accept the United States as a special partner in the World Court would quash the proceedings, it seems to be expected by the Administration that the reservations will be accepted. Certainly other terms cannot be expected. The action of the Senate has been brought about only by the tact and forbearance of the President and Secretary of State, combined with an unusual accord between the majorities of the two great parties, behind which was a very strong and persistent public opinion.

## American Participation in Disarmament Conference

*Germany's Request for Admission to the League of Nations—British-Italian War Debt Settlement—Proposals to End Present Passport System*

By PHILIP MARSHALL BROWN

Professor of International Law, Princeton University

THE participation of the United States in the preliminary conference on disarmament, originally planned for Feb. 15 under the auspices of the League of Nations, was assured by the passage on Jan. 29 by the Senate of the House joint resolution for the appropriation of \$50,000 for that purpose. Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary General of the League of Nations, announced on Feb. 1 that five members of the Council of the League—namely, France, Italy, Japan, Czechoslovakia and Uruguay—had asked for the postponement of the meeting of the preparatory disarmament commission to a date not later than May 15. Secretary Kellogg instructed Hugh S. Gibson, the American Minister at Berne, to inform Sir Eric Drummond that the United States Government would raise no objections to the postponement.

This setback to plans for disarmament was not unexpected, as it had become painfully apparent that a wide divergence of views existed between the various powers concerning the scope of the subjects to be discussed. As pointed out in the February issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*, the agenda for the preliminary conference, which had been laboriously prepared by the Secretary of the League, was bristling with intricate and embarrassing problems affecting such vital matters as national security and essential interests. Each nation in turn has its own preoccupations—France with the safeguarding of peace and security throughout Europe by the maintenance of adequate land forces; Great Britain in the defense of imperial interests by its navy; the United States, by reason of its geographical location and its potential resources, in the natural desire to see a general reduction of arms, and so on.

No single nation was willing to assume the onus of responsibility for the postponement of the meeting of the preliminary conference, nor to state candidly the compelling reasons for such postponement. One apparently good reason was the refusal of the Soviet Government to participate in any League conferences held in Switzerland because of its controversy with the Swiss Government over the assassination of Vorovsky, the Russian unofficial observer at the Lausanne Conference in May, 1923. The reduction of armaments by the nations bordering on Russia, as well as by such friendly allies as France, obviously depends upon the attitude of Russia. Another reason alleged for delaying disarmament was the necessity for first making certain that Germany had complied with all its obligations under the Versailles Treaty before being admitted to the League of Nations and to the general discussion of a conference dealing with questions of national security and other delicate problems.

Whatever the actual reasons for this lamentable delay in securing disarmament, it is apparent that the Locarno Conference, admirable as it was in spirit and in actual achievements, was an eloquent illustration of the necessity of other similar conferences to adjust differences and reconcile conflicting national interests before it is possible to agree upon any general measures of disarmament.

### GERMANY AND THE LEAGUE

The German Consul at Geneva on Feb. 10 handed to Sir Eric Drummond the following note, signed by the German Minister for Foreign Affairs, formally request-

ing the admission of Germany into the League of Nations:

With reference to the German memorandum of September, 1924, to the Governments represented on the Council, and to the German note addressed to you, Mr. Secretary General, on Dec. 12, 1924, and the reply thereto of the Council of the League, dated March 14, 1925, as well as to the note of other signatories of the Locarno treaties of Dec. 1, 1925, of which a copy is attached, I have the honor, in accordance with Article 1 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, to formulate herewith, in the name of the German Government, a proposal for the admission of Germany to the League of Nations.

I beg you to put this proposal on the agenda of the Assembly as soon as possible.

Germany, in its previous correspondence with the League, had indicated four conditions: (1) A seat on the Council, (2) exemption from military sanctions of Article 16 of the Covenant, (3) evacuation of the Ruhr and the Rhineland, and (4) the conferring of a mandate over certain for-

mer German colonies. No satisfaction of these demands could be granted by the League as a special exception or privilege, though much might be done through other avenues of negotiation. The Ruhr and the Cologne areas have been evacuated. Germany is to have a seat on the Council. At Locarno seven Foreign Ministers drew up the following memorandum, which Germany attached to its formal application for membership in the League:

Each State a member of the League is bound to cooperate loyally and effectively in support of the Covenant and in resistance of any act of aggression to the extent which is compatible with its military situation and which takes its geographical position into account.

This is calculated to relieve Germany of any special responsibilities for military action under the League, in view of its state of disarmament under the Treaty of Versailles.

The Council of the League at its special session in Geneva on Feb. 12 arranged for the summoning of a special meeting of the Assembly of the League on March 8 to take formal action on Germany's application for membership.

#### THE RUSSIAN-SWISS DISPUTE

The announcement by the League of Nations on Feb. 9 that the first meeting of the Preparatory Commission for the International Economic Conference would be held at Geneva on April 26 was interpreted as indicating an early adjustment of the controversy between Russia and Switzerland over the assassination of Vorovsky, Russia having stated that it would participate in no conference on Swiss soil unless granted an apology, indemnity and other assurances. The presence of Russia at these conferences, notably the one on disarmament, is deemed so essential that France has been acting as an intermediary between the two Governments. Anti-Soviet feeling in Switzerland seemed to preclude any humiliating action



THE OLD STAND THE BEST  
New York American



at the behest of Russia, though some sort of an adjustment was likely to be reached for the sake of the larger interests of the League of Nations.

### INTERALLIED DEBTS

Another important forward step in the adjustment of interallied debts was the Anglo-Italian settlement which was arrived at in London on Jan. 26 by Count Volpi, the Italian Minister to France, and Winston Churchill, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer. Italy agreed to pay Great Britain approximately £4,000,000 annually for sixty-two years, beginning March 15, and Great Britain agreed to return £22,200,000 in gold, deposited by Italy with the Bank of England in 1915 as security for war loans, in half yearly instalments running to Sept. 15, 1987. The total Italy must pay is, in effect, less than half her admitted debt of £592,000,000 (\$2,877,000,000), and the terms accorded by Great Britain, therefore, were regarded as more generous than those which Italy obtained from the United States. A clause of special interest to the United States was included in the agreement to the effect that if at any time Great Britain received debt payments from her former Allies, which, with the amount received from German reparations, should exceed the sums paid to the United States under the Anglo-American debt settlement, then that excess should be placed in a special account and the proportionate share to Italy calculated. That share should then be deducted from the next semi-annual payment due from Italy, provided that if at any time Great Britain should find herself unable to get from reparations, plus ex-Allied payments, sufficient to pay the United States, Great Britain could call upon Italy to increase her instalments by the amount she had them reduced under this arrangement.

In commenting upon the fact that Great Britain had agreed to fund the war debt of Italy on more favorable terms than those granted to Italy by the American Government, Secretary Mellon stated on Jan. 29:

Italy owes to Great Britain \$2,877,000,000 and to America \$2,042,000,000. As compared with the



### ITALY'S DEBT TO GREAT BRITAIN

Chancellor of the Exchequer Winston Churchill: "Quick! The smelling salts; the shock is too great."

Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin: "What shock?" Churchill: "Somebody has called with the idea of paying."—*Daily Express, London.*

Italian-American settlement, Great Britain receives from Italy in the sixty-two year period total payments of \$1,346,000,000 of a present value, on a  $4\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. basis, of \$455,000,000 as against total payments under the Italian-American settlement of \$2,407,000,000, of a present value of \$528,000,000.

The present value of the British-Italian settlement represents about 16 per cent. of the indebtedness funded and the present value of the Italian-American settlement represents about 26 per cent. of the indebtedness funded.

Winston Churchill, in his reply to a speech by Count Volpi on Jan. 28, used the following significant language:

My colleagues in the British Cabinet, in leaving me wide discretionary power, desired me to take into consideration not only the purely financial aspect, but the whole course of our happy relations with Italy in the immense tasks with which we have been associated both in war and in the period of reconstruction.

It is thus apparent that in the adjustment of inter-allied indebtedness other controlling factors may be involved than the test of "capacity to pay" originally laid down by the United States Government.

The Italian Chamber of Deputies ratified the London debt agreement on Feb. 5. Meanwhile, the United States House of Representatives had on Jan. 15 given its approval to the debt settlement under which the Italian Government pledged itself to discharge its war debt to the United States. The agreement then went to the United States Senate.

Funding of the principal of the debt of Yugoslavia to the United States, with the

remission of interest upon so much of the total as was advanced to it by the United States Government before the armistice until the final acceptance of the funding agreement, and with the interest on the remainder of the money lent to run to date, was reported to have been proposed to the United States Debt Commission by the Yugoslavian Debt Commission on Jan. 27.

The Greek Debt Commission, it was stated on Jan. 18, informed the American Commission that it had no authority to make a funding agreement unless the United States advanced Greece \$33,000,000 more on its original credit of \$48,000,000. The American Commission refused to consider a loan and the Greeks withdrew to communicate with their Government.

Henry Béranger, the new French Ambassador to the United States, in presenting his credentials to President Coolidge on Jan. 20, gave assurances that France was resolved to settle her war debts to the United States "as promptly and as fully as her present and future possibilities will allow."



"COME OFF IT, ANTONIO, AND PUSH A BIT!"

The Chancellor of the Exchequer is said to be finding it very difficult to get Italy to take over even a reduced share of her debt to Great Britain.—*Glasgow Bulletin*.

It was announced officially in Rome on Feb. 2 that the Italian Government did not recognize that Italy owed any war debt to France. It was stated that Italian experts who have been studying this question had found that Italy was really France's creditor in regard to war financing.

#### CODIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

The League Committee of Experts for the progressive codification of international law concluded on Jan. 29 its second session at Geneva. This session, which lasted eighteen days, was attended by thirteen representatives from all the continents, representing all the juridical systems, and reached an agreement on seven subjects on the agenda deemed possible of codification by international conference. These subjects are: Nine on the conflict of laws on nationality; two on laws governing territorial seas; three on sea products; four on diplomatic privileges; five on the responsibility of States for damages caused in their territory to persons or property of foreigners; six on the procedure of diplomatic conferences and the procedure for the conclusion and drafting of treaties; seven on the repression of piracy. It was decided to send extensive reports on these subjects to all Governments in the world with a request that their opinions thereon be returned before Oct. 15 next in order that the committee might advise the League Council on the feasibility of convoking the necessary conference.

Among the problems presenting peculiar complications and difficulties was that of nationality, notably, the status of married women who, by reason of such conflicting laws as those of Great Britain and the United States, find themselves without a country, and also the problem of double nationality, which results in some cases in two countries demanding military services from the same man. The committee of jurists decided to refer such difficulties to the Government concerned and to suggest a conference for the purpose of securing unification, or at least greater harmony, of national laws. They decided it was impossible to codify international law while the present conflict of laws existed.

### THE PASSPORT SYSTEM

It was announced at Geneva on Jan. 21 that the United States had been invited to participate in the League of Nations Passport Conference to be held at Geneva on May 12. The purpose of the conference is to take steps toward "the abolition to widest extent possible of the passport system and to mitigate considerably the disadvantages of the expense which the system entails for relations between peoples and for international trade facilities." This conference is naturally of great importance to the United States, inasmuch as its passport policy has been met by the reciprocal measures of other nations, resulting in the payment in 1925 by half a million Americans of \$30,000,000 to foreign Governments for visas.

### INTERNATIONAL INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION

The International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, founded at the instance of the Council of the League of Nations, was inaugurated at Paris on Jan. 16 by President Doumergue of France. Among those present were Signor Scialoja, the President of the League Council, Sir Eric Drummond, the Secretary General, and M. Albert Thomas, the Director of the International Labor Office, and Madame Curie, Professor Einstein, Professor Gilbert Murray, members of the Institute. The organization has its headquarters in the Montpensier wing of the Palais Royal, the gift of the French Government.

### AMERICAN ARCHITECTS BARRED

The International Jury of Architects appointed by the Council of the League of Nations to prepare for the competition for the plan of the League Assembly Hall, completed on Jan. 25 a program of regulations whereby all architects who are nationals of League members will compete for 120,000,000 gold francs in prizes. American architects, along with those of Afghanistan, Mexico, Ecuador, Russia and other non-League nations, are thus barred from the competition on the ground that prize money paid out by taxpayers of League States should go to the nationals of those



### ITALY PAYS HER DEBT TO GREAT BRITAIN

Chancellor of the Exchequer Winston Churchill: "For the love of Mike! This is very little for the money."  
Italy: "Why makka ze face? It is long time since you give me ze money."—*Glasgow Bulletin*.

States. It is understood that the sum of 11,700,000 gold francs (approximately \$2,300,000) will be appropriated for the erection of the League Assembly Hall.

### FRANCE REPORTS ON SYRIA

The French Government early in January filed a report on Syria with the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. A special session of the Commission met in Rome on Feb. 16 to consider this report. The report was understood to explain the events which led up to the revolt of the Druses and the bombardment of Damascus. It was generally considered that the League of Nations here faced a very difficult task. The Turks unofficially have repudiated the League's decision on Mosul, as being unfair. Many observers held that if the League should entirely sustain the decision of France, the word would go out through the Moslem world that no justice was to be expected in this quarter.

## Colonel House's Letter to the Kaiser in 1914

AN important letter, written by Colonel E. M. House to the Kaiser in 1914, has just been made public by the French magazine *Evolution*, founded by Victor Margueritte, who is referred to in the article by Georges Demartial on "France's Responsibility for the War," in this issue of CURRENT HISTORY. Colonel House, it will be remembered, was sent by President Wilson to Europe a few months before the outbreak of war to study and report on the international situation, and his letter to the Kaiser was written after discussions, not only with the German Emperor, but also with French and British statesmen. The letter, hitherto kept a secret, is also printed in a recently published pamphlet, "England und der Kriegausbruch" (England and the Outbreak of War), written by the former German Foreign Minister, G. von Jagow, in criticism of Viscount Grey's Memoirs. The text of the letter follows:

LONDON, July 8, 1914.

Sir:

Your Imperial Majesty will doubtless recall our conversation at Potsdam, and that with the President's consent and approval I came to Europe for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not it was possible to bring about a better understanding between the Great Powers, to the end that there might be a continuation of peace, and later a beneficent economic readjustment which a lessening of armaments would insure. Because of the commanding position your Majesty occupies, and because of your well-known desire to maintain peace, I came, as your Majesty knows, directly to Berlin. I can never forget the gracious acceptance of the general purposes of my mission, the masterly exposition of the world-wide political conditions as they exist today and the prophetic forecast as to the future which your Majesty then made. I received every reasonable assurance of your Majesty's cordial approval of the President's purpose, and I left Germany happy in the belief that your Majesty's great influence would be thrown in behalf of peace and the broadening of the world's commerce. In France I tried to reach the thoughts of her people in regard to Germany, and to find what hopes she nursed. My conclusion upon leaving was that her statesmen have given over all thoughts of

revenge, or of recovery of the two provinces. Her people in general still have hopes in both directions, but her better-informed rulers would be quite content if France could be sure of her autonomy as it now exists. It was then, Sir, that I came to England and with high hopes, in which I have not been disappointed. I first approached Sir Edward Grey, and I found him sympathetic to the last degree. After a two hours' conference we parted with an understanding that we should meet again within a few days. This I inferred to mean that he wished to consult with the Prime Minister and his colleagues. At our next conference, which again lasted for two hours, he had to meet me the Lord Chancellor, Lord Crewe and Sir William Tyrrell. Since then I have met the Prime Minister and practically every important member of the British Government, and I am convinced that they desire such an understanding as will lay the foundation for permanent peace and security. England must necessarily move cautiously lest she offend the sensibilities of France and Russia, but with the changing sentiment in France there should be a gradual improvement of relations between Germany and that country which England will now be glad to foster. While much has been accomplished, yet there is something still to be desired in order that there may be a better medium created for an easy and frank exchange of thoughts and purposes. No one knows better than your Majesty of the unusual ferment that is now going throughout the world, and no one is in so fortunate a position to bring about a soon and reasonable understanding among the statesmen of the Western peoples, to the end that our civilization may continue uninterrupted. While this communication is, as your Majesty knows, quite unofficial, yet it is written in sympathy with the well-known views of the President and, I am given to understand, with the hope from His Britannic Majesty's Government that it may bring a response from your Majesty which may permit another step forward.

Permit me, Sir, to conclude by quoting a sentence from a letter which has come to me from the President: "Your letter from Paris, written just after coming from Berlin, gives me a thrill of deep pleasure. You have, I hope and believe, begun a great thing, and I rejoice with all my heart."

I have the honor to be, Sir, with the greatest respect, your Majesty's very obedient servant.

EDWARD M. HOUSE.



# Adherence of United States to World Court

*Settlement of Anthracite Coal Strike—Adoption of Revenue Bill—  
President Coolidge Defends Administration Policy—The  
Prohibition Issue*

By WILLIAM MacDONALD

Lecturer on American History, Yale University

PUBLIC interest in the proceedings of Congress and in other events of national importance during the month has centred mainly in the adoption by the Senate of a resolution providing for the adherence of the United States to the World Court, the debates in the Senate on the pending revenue bill, charges of negligence on the part of the Administration in the prosecution of alleged trusts, and the continued discussion, always animated and sometimes acrimonious, of prohibition. The fact that the terms of twenty-five Republican and seven Democratic Senators, together with the terms of all the members of the House of Representatives, expire in March, 1927, and that elections to fill the vacancies will take place this year, has naturally given a partisan or personal color to some of the things said and done, and occasioned speculation regarding the political complexion of the next Congress. Taken as a whole, however, partisanship in debate has been much less conspicuous and appreciably less aggressive than has often been the case in election years, and the differences of opinion that have been voiced appear to have been due more to the lack of definite lines of cleavage between the two great parties, and personal divergences of view regarding the way in which certain questions of national policy ought to be treated, than to a manifest purpose on the part of Senators or Representatives to make political capital out of events. If the debates in Congress have not been of an exceptionally high order, they have nevertheless been prevailingly serious and to the point.

## THE WORLD COURT

The adoption by the Senate on Feb. 27

of a resolution approving the adherence of the United States to the World Court brought to a close a controversy which had been before the Senate for almost three years. The final debate, which began on Dec. 18, was marked by an elaborate presentation of arguments for and against the momentous step that was proposed, by the expression of conflicting opinions regarding the relation of American membership in the Court to future advocacy of membership in the League of Nations, and by persistent attempts to add to the five reservations already before the Senate others which should limit still further the authority of the Court in matters involving the United States. When the vote was finally taken, however, after the unusual step of imposing the closure to end debate, the opposition, whose uncertain strength had occasioned some anxiety to the friends of the resolution, was found to have dwindled and party lines were all but eliminated. Of the 76 affirmative votes, 40 were given by Republicans and 36 by Democrats, while 14 Republicans, 2 Democrats and 1 Farmer-Labor Senator, 17 in all, voted in the negative.

## THE REVENUE BILL

The tax reduction or Revenue bill of 1926 was finally passed in the Senate on Feb. 12 by a vote of 58 to 9. The bill as passed provided a total reduction of \$456,261,000, or \$103,000,000 more than that fixed by the Senate Finance Committee draft and \$129,100,000 more than fixed by the House bill.

The bill, which passed the House on Jan. 18 by an overwhelming majority, was reported in modified form to the Senate on Jan. 20. As passed by the House the

bill carried reductions in revenue, and hence in taxation, aggregating \$325,736,000. As amended by the Finance Committee of the Senate the total reduction was increased to \$352,661,000, the principal changes being the repeal of the estate and gift taxes of the present law, the wiping out of the capital stock tax, a reduction of the surtaxes proposed by the House on net incomes from \$26,000 to \$64,000, and an increase of the corporation tax from 12½ per cent. to 13½ per cent. A number of changes in administrative procedure were also introduced, among them an enlargement of the powers of a proposed joint Congressional committee on internal revenue taxation and a revision of procedure before the Board of Tax Appeals.

The debate on the bill in the Senate dealt mainly with the questions of the estate tax, the surtaxes on incomes and the publicity of income tax returns. It was announced that President Coolidge, who was understood to doubt the propriety of levying a Federal estate tax on the ground that the tax belonged properly to the States, would probably not oppose a repeal of the tax if the sinking fund for the payment of the national debt would not be endangered thereby. The increased tax on corporations, together with the repeal of the capital stock tax, was voted on Feb. 2, followed the next day by approval of the

revised surtaxes. The maximum surtax, 20 per cent. on incomes of more than \$100,000, represented a reduction by one-half of the figure voted by the House. The votes taken on several amendments proposing an increase of the maximum surtax showed that both parties were divided. Neither the Senate nor the House bills, it should be noted, made any change in the existing surtax rates on incomes less than \$26,000.

Further progress of the bill was threatened by a vigorous attempt, characterized by Senator Smoot, Chairman of the Finance Committee, as a filibuster, to prevent repeal of the publicity provision of the present law. On Feb. 8, however, the Senate, after rejecting an amendment offered by Senator Norris of Nebraska, Republican, which would have opened to the public the personal returns of taxpayers as well as all other Treasury data relating to income taxes, agreed without a division to eliminate from the present law the requirement that "the amount paid" by the taxpayer shall be made public. Then, on Feb. 10, the Senate, by a vote of 49 to 26, repealed the estate tax, following this action by dropping also the so-called "nuisance" taxes on theatre admissions and dues and the remaining taxes on automobiles. A New York Times correspondent commented on the fact that the Republican-Democratic coalition which had been forcing the bill through the Senate went to pieces on the question of dropping the nuisance taxes and that more Democrats than Republicans voted for their excision.

#### GOVERNMENT'S "CONSTRUCTIVE ECONOMY"

President Coolidge seized the opportunity afforded by the tenth regular meeting of the business organization of the Government at Washington, on Jan. 30, to reiterate his stand in favor of the World Court and to commend the financial policy of the Government. A comparison of the economic situation which existed in June, 1921, when the organization held its first meeting, with the situation at the present time showed "the tremendous results of a policy of constructive economy."

At that time 5,000,000 of our people were without employment, trade and commerce were despondent, transportation was unable to finance



ENTER UNCLE SAM WITH ESCORT  
—Brooklyn Daily Eagle

itself, the loss of buying power on the part of the wage earner depressed the price of all agricultural products, our foreign relations were in an uncertain state, we were threatened with an inundation of alien goods and alien peoples, about \$7,000,000,000 of unfunded public debt was shortly to mature. It was almost impossible to secure private credit. The burden of taxation was overwhelming.

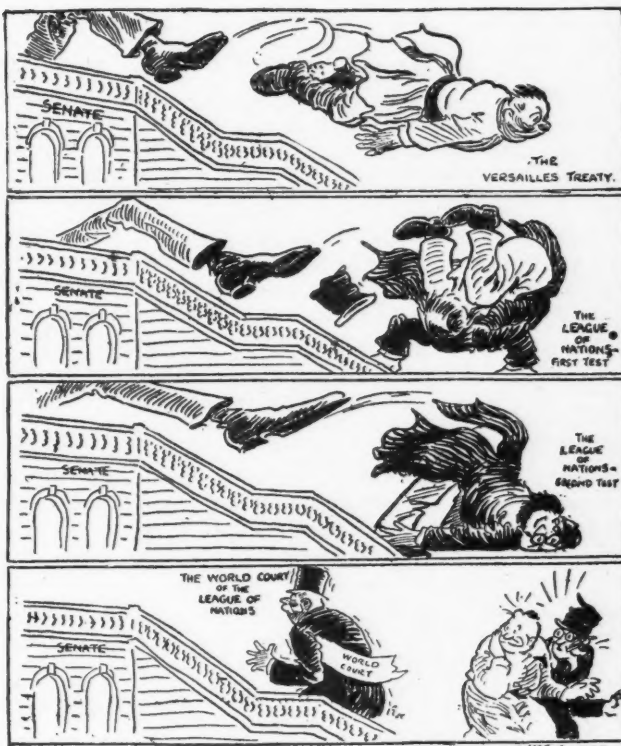
All this Mr. Coolidge went on to point out had been changed for the better by "prompt and effective" Government action:

The flood of immigration and importations was checked by legislation. Our own people began to find work. Our own goods began to find a market. Taxes were enormously reduced. Federal expenditures, which then amounted to \$5,538,000,000 \* \* \* it is now estimated will be cut down to \$3,610,000,000 for this fiscal year. The public debt \* \* \* at the end of this fiscal year \* \* \* will be less than \$20,000,000,000 \* \* \* a payment of about \$4,000,000,000 and \* \* \* a yearly saving in interest of \$179,000,000. \* \* \*

The enormous debts due us from abroad have been steadily adjusted until but one of large importance remains. \* \* \* Economies in production have decreased our domestic costs. Our exports and imports for the last year were about \$9,000,000,000, the highest mark ever reached in time of peace.

#### MR. COOLIDGE STRIKES BACK

Apparently disturbed by attacks in Congress upon the policy of the Administration, particularly in reference to its attitude toward the World Court and the League and the treatment of alleged offenders against the law, Mr. Coolidge, speaking in the guise of a "White House spokesman," made known to the press correspondents at Washington on Feb. 2 his position. As reported by a newspaper correspondent, Mr. Coolidge was represented as confident that the action of the Senate in regard to the World Court was in accord with American public opinion. The country, he believed, wanted the Court without at the same time wanting the League, and the fact



BUT THE WORLD COURT GOT IN

—Chicago Tribune

that the one body was judicial while the other was political not only established a clear differentiation between the two, but also deprived of justification the charge that acceptance of the protocol of the Court implied eventual acceptance of the Covenant of the League.

The criticisms of Administration policy in Congress were characterized as "seasonal" outbursts such as usually appeared before an election. Particular warning was given against accepting statements that the country was without adequate military protection, or that alleged violations of law were being ignored. The budget system, it was pointed out, makes adequate provision for the army and navy, and the expenditure of some \$4,000,000,000 during the past six years "under the direction of competent men of the General Staff of the Army and the General Board of the Navy" has resulted in "a very good national defense system." All possible effort was being made to insure law enforcement, protect the public interest and "effect orderly

procedure of civil functions," and while there were "some bad spots" in business, they were not serious enough "to cause any one to feel there is a lack of prosperity."

The White House statement provoked an immediate retort from Senator Harrison of Mississippi, a Democratic spokesman, who characterized the statement as one that "has no counterpart in the history of any occupant of the White House" and Mr. Coolidge himself as "a matchless politician" with "a fine Italian hand." "The minority party," he declared, "both in the House and in the Senate, has played less politics since December than at any time in the history of the American Congress. . . . It does not become an occupant of the White House to have the newspapers, through their correspondents, warn the country that all of the speeches here are to be of a political tinge and cast during this year."

The criticisms of Senator Harrison and others apparently left the President undisturbed, and it was announced on Feb. 9 that the semi-weekly conferences of the newspaper men with the "White House spokesman" would be continued until Mr. Coolidge should be "convinced that there is a general demand for their elimination."



COMING OUT OF HIS CAVE  
—New York World

## TRADE AND INDUSTRY

Corporation reports and business surveys have, in general, tended to support Mr. Coolidge's assertion that the country on the whole was prosperous. Seasonal declines in certain branches of wholesale and retail trade, and a continuance by many merchants of the hand-to-mouth policy in buying, have been offset by increased volume of trade and enhanced profits in other lines, particularly in department and chain stores and mail order houses and by indications of a revival in the textile industries. A number of important oil companies reported substantial profits for 1925, and the outlook for the industry, especially in view of a decline in the production of crude oil, was frequently referred to as brighter than for several years. The volume of building contracts was greater in December than in the previous month, the unfilled orders of the United States Steel Corporation, generally regarded as indicative of the general state of business, increased in December although falling off in January, and gains in imports and exports of merchandise were reported. The National Industrial

Conference Board reported in January that employment had increased steadily since July and that average weekly earnings had reached the high level that prevailed early in 1925. Federal tax receipts for 1925 showed a net gain of \$6,211,625, notwithstanding the tax reductions made by Congress.

## AGRICULTURE

The agricultural situation was less clear. In spite of higher prices in world markets in 1925 than in 1924 the value of grain and cereal products exported from the United States fell off more than \$82,000,000 from the figure of the previous year. Data made public by the Department of Agriculture showed that the only farm products that were not lower in price on Jan. 15 than on the corresponding date in 1925 were hay and potatoes. In a



statement issued on Feb. 7 the department deprecated "any general expansion in production" this year on the ground that expansion "would tend to place farmers in a less favorable economic position than at present." Increased demand for agricultural products either at home or abroad, it was declared, was unlikely, "no reduction in farm wages may be expected," and "the cost of farm equipment will probably remain at present levels."

Conflicting statements regarding the actual situation in the corn belt, particularly in Iowa, have been accompanied by intimations that the alleged "crisis" due to the low price of corn had been overestimated. Criticism of the tariff as unjust to the farmers continued to be made, while the National Board of Farm Organizations, at its midwinter meeting at Washington on Feb. 3, not only called for the abolition of the United States Tariff Commission but declared that the "elusive and labyrinthic method" of the board in "dealing with questions of great public moment is bringing reproach on all reputable governmental agencies":

"Its unwarranted delay in arriving at decisions, its prejudiced treatment of parties appearing before it, its method of holding secret hearings with certain parties interested in matters before the commission when other parties understand that the hearings have been closed, all have created a situation which approaches closely to a public scandal."

The co-operative farm bill, however, an Administration measure establishing a new bureau in the Department of Agriculture and appropriating \$225,000 annually for its support, passed the House of Representatives on Jan. 26 with only three adverse votes. The Dickinson bill, a rival measure providing for the creation of a Federal corporation to facilitate the marketing of agricultural products, was endorsed in principle at a conference at Des Moines on Jan. 28 in which eleven States of the Middle West were represented.

#### ANTHRACITE COAL STRIKE

The strike in the anthracite coal region which began on Sept. 1, 1925, came suddenly to an end on Feb. 12, ten days after the break-up of another conference at

Philadelphia which apparently left operators and miners as far apart as ever. The terms of settlement, which were accepted by the miners' representatives subject to the approval of a miners' convention, provided for the immediate resumption of work under the old scale and the continuance of the scale until Aug. 31, 1930, subject to annual modification by agreement between the parties. In case the operators and miners are unable to agree regarding modification of the contract, the question is to be left to the decision of two men chosen by the respective parties, neither of the two, however, except by special agreement, to be a person connected with the miners or with coal mining. To the existing Board of Conciliation was left the task of working out "a reciprocal program of cooperation and efficiency," including the equalization of wages in accordance with the agreement of Sept. 19, 1923. The agreement did not provide for the form of arbitration, characterized by the miners as virtually compulsory, for which the operators had previously contended, while the question of the check-off, in regard to which the miners had been insistent, was left to the Board of Conciliation. The tri-district convention of the miners, to which the agreement would be presented for ratification, was called to meet at Scranton, Pa., on Feb. 16.

President Coolidge maintained to the last his refusal to inject the Federal Government into the controversy. The adoption by the Senate on Feb. 9, by a majority of more than 2 to 1, of a resolution requesting the President to invite representatives of the operators and miners to confer with him at the White House was met at once with the statement that Mr. Coolidge saw no reason to change his policy of non-interference. The final settlement, however, owed much to the friendly offices of the Secretary of Labor, James J. Davis, whose representatives exerted themselves to prepare the way for a settlement; and the success of his efforts was widely commented upon as redounding to the credit of the Administration.

It was estimated that the strike, the longest in the history of the industry, involved a loss of more than \$150,000,000 in miners' wages and a curtailment of some

35,000,000 tons in the production of anthracite coal.

#### PROHIBITION

In the absence of any noticeable disposition on the part of Congress, with elections approaching, either to modify the Volstead act or to enlarge the provisions for its enforcement, the discussion of prohibition has continued actively in the press and in public meetings, in addition to engaging the attention of various religious and other organizations. Contributions to the discussion by Federal officials have appeared to indicate some difference of opinion regarding the course to be pursued. Lincoln C. Andrews, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in charge of prohibition enforcement, addressing a dinner of the Committee of One Thousand in New York on Jan. 21, called for support of the prohibition law, but admitted that the results of the act were doubtful, criticized the indifference of the courts, and declared his belief that "a scientific investigation of the situation through machinery set up by Congress" must be undertaken before the good or bad effects of the system could be known. The next evening Attorney General John G. Sargent told the New York State Bar Association that, while he believed the determination of the country to enforce prohibition was growing, enforcement was costing \$30,000,000 a year, and bootleg patrons were following "a logical course" when they violated other laws. On the other hand, Emory R. Buckner, United States District Attorney at New York, who has spoken frequently and freely in public regarding the work of his office, reminded a forum audience at Bound Brook, N. J., on Jan. 24 that "there is no moral victory in a law which is not enforced," and declared that unless Congress was prepared to furnish enough money to enforce the law fully it ought to change both the Volstead act and the Constitution "in order to meet precisely what Congress and the taxpayers are willing to support."

The announcement on Feb. 3 by the Rev. Dr. James Empringham, National Secretary of the Church Temperance Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church and formerly State Superintendent of the New York Anti-Saloon League, that replies to a recent

questionnaire showed that an overwhelming majority of the 20,000 members of the society were "in favor of a modification of the Volstead act," precipitated a lively discussion in the press and a renewal of attacks by the "wet" forces in Congress. The members of the society, Dr. Empringham stated, favored such modification of the act as would permit the sale of beer and wine, "because the effect of prohibition has been to put an end to scientific temperance teaching," the act itself being further criticized as responsible for "increased drinking among young people," "disrespect for all laws," "increased demand for distilled liquors which today are mostly poisonous," and as "class legislation discriminating in favor of the rich."

Wayne B. Wheeler, general counsel of the Anti-Saloon League, immediately characterized the statement as "ill-timed" and "amazing," and Dr. Clarence True Wilson of the Methodist Episcopal Board of Temperance was quoted as saying that the Church Temperance Society was "not an organization of influence or of consequence" and that Dr. Empringham "was a fool to give up a good church and a big stipend to make the world better over night." An inquiry instituted by The New York Times among twenty-three bishops and suffragan bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church showed that eighteen of the number were opposed to changes in the present law. Efforts of the press to obtain detailed information regarding the scope of the questionnaire and the status of the persons who replied to it were unsuccessful.

A vantage ground for the long-awaited attack upon prohibition in Congress "all along the line" was apparently afforded by the introduction on Feb. 6 of a bill, sponsored by Secretary Mellon, providing for the establishment in the Treasury Department of a Bureau of Customs and a Bureau of Prohibition, and transferring to the latter bureau, under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, the administration and enforcement of the prohibitory laws now lodged with the Internal Revenue Bureau.

Official figures of the Treasury Department, given out on Feb. 1, showed that only \$640,142 was collected in 1925 for

taxes, fines, and so forth, under the prohibitory law.

Eight members of the "dry navy" at Atlantic City, N. J., received prison sentences on Jan. 30 for smuggling liquor ashore, and in addition were dishonorably discharged from the service.

In a prepared statement issued to the press on Feb. 8 Cardinal O'Connell of Boston, ranking prelate of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, declared that "compulsory prohibition in general is flatly opposed to Holy Scripture and to Catholic tradition."

#### OF NATIONAL INTEREST

The naval appropriation bill, carrying a total of about \$321,000,000, but without the provisions for new aircraft construction which Secretary Wilbur and the Director of the Budget had recommended, passed the House without a division on Jan. 25.

The army appropriation bill, providing \$339,581,924, or \$1,087,699 more than the budget estimate for the support of the army, was reported to the House on Feb. 4.

The resignation from the army of Colonel William Mitchell, who was found guilty by a court-martial of violating the 96th Article of War, was accepted by the Secretary of War to take effect Feb. 1.

A majority report of the Senate Judiciary Committee, signed by two Republican and seven Democratic members, recommending an investigation of the Aluminum Company of America, in which Secretary Mellon is a large stockholder, was adopted by the committee on Feb. 11.

President Coolidge let it be known on Jan. 22 that loans by American bankers to foreign concerns or Governments which monopolized materials used in the United States would be regarded with disfavor by the Government. The policy, it was stated, had particularly in view the foreign control of rubber.

The reply of Secretary of State Kellogg to the application of Countess Karolyi for a writ of mandamus to compel the issuance of a passport to enter this country was filed with the United States Circuit Court at Washington on Feb. 4. The reply argued that full discretion regarding the admission of aliens was vested in the Secretary of State by law and Presidential



UNCLE SAM'S FOREIGN RELATIONS  
—Los Angeles Times

authority, and that such discretion was not subject to review by the courts.

To insure a fair trial of a negro accused of murder and assault, 1,000 armed troops of the Kentucky National Guard occupied Lexington on Feb. 1. At Georgetown, Del., on Feb. 8, tear bombs were used by State troops to repel a crowd which tried to attack the court house where a negro was being tried.

The terms of a contract embodying the principle of the closed shop, drafted by the Dramatists' Guild of the Authors' League of America, were made public on Feb. 6. In addition to detailed specifications regarding the financial or other rights of the parties, the contract provides that no manager signing the contract shall, without the consent of the Council of the League, make any contract concerning "any play or dramatico-musical composition" with any playwright or composer who is not a member of the Guild, and that no member of the Guild shall make any similar contract with any manager who has not accepted the agreement.

The Nacionalista and Democrata parties, the chief native political parties of the Philippines, on Feb. 10 voted to unite and to form a National Supreme Council, which will inaugurate a campaign for independence for the Philippines.

[MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA]

## Mexico Faces Crisis Over Alien Bills

*Great Britain Joins United States in Opposing Land and Oil Laws—  
Chamorro New President of Nicaragua—Prosperity in Haiti*

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

Associate Professor of Latin-American History, University of Texas

THE controversy between the Governments of the United States and Mexico with respect to the new Mexican alien land and petroleum laws reached a critical stage during the month under survey. The Mexican Embassy in Washington on Jan. 19 made public a long statement by Mexican Foreign Minister Sáenz. This was an unofficial answer to charges made in the State Department's note of Jan. 9 that the two laws contained retroactive and confiscatory provisions and were in violation of agreements reached in 1923 by the American and Mexican commissioners as a basis for the recognition of the Obregón Government. By exhaustive legal reasoning Minister Sáenz argued that the law was neither retroactive nor confiscatory in character, that it provided legal means for the protection of foreign investors in Mexico, and that by the law foreigners were placed on equal legal standing with Mexicans.

In a statement issued to the press on Jan. 20 Secretary of State Kellogg asserted that Minister Sáenz's statement of the preceding day comprised "no facts or arguments which have not been fully dealt with in the official exchanges between the two Governments." He stated that the position of the United States Government "has been and still is that the so-called land and petroleum laws contain provisions which are plainly retroactive and confiscatory in their effect upon property rights heretofore legally acquired and held by American citizens in Mexico under prior existing laws." Secretary Kellogg denied that this position in any sense questioned "Mexico's sovereign right to legislate on her domestic concerns."

The Mexican Government on Jan. 21 delivered to Ambassador Sheffield a formal reply to the State Department's note of protest of Jan. 9. After receipt of this answering note the State Department called into consultation the Hon. Charles Beecher Warren, one of the American Commissioners in the Mexican-American Conference of 1923, and subsequently American Ambassador to Mexico. On Feb. 4 Ambassador Sheffield delivered a second note of protest from the State Department to the Mexican Government. It was unofficially reported from Washington that in the new note the United States Government reiterated its contention that the land and petroleum laws are plainly retroactive and confiscatory and are violative of American treaty rights.

President Calles on Feb. 5 gave a significant "authorized Executive statement"—the first since the present virtual diplomatic deadlock between the United States and Mexican Governments—to L. C. Spears, staff correspondent of The New York Times. With reference to the new land and petroleum laws, President Calles stated that they "are not yet perfected," and would not be perfected until the Executive had issued regulations "to fix the scope and the proceedings of the enforcement of the principles or provisions contained in the said laws." For this reason President Calles stated that he thought that "the stand taken by the American Government of considering the so-called land and oil laws retroactive and confiscatory is based on an impression of an incompleting legal situation." Foreign Minister Sáenz stated on Feb. 7 that the Department of Industry, Commerce and



Labor and the Department of Foreign Relations were "working with great activity \* \* \* to prepare the regulations" for the land and petroleum laws, and that the "final aims of both the laws and the regulations will be the finding of a desired solution which will safeguard the interests of Mexico and those of aliens."

It was announced at Washington on Feb. 10 that a formal protest against the Mexican land and petroleum laws had been lodged with the Mexican Foreign Office by Esmond Ovey, British Minister to Mexico. The British objections to these laws were said to be similar to the objections of the United States.

The petroleum law was the subject of a conference between representatives of the petroleum industry and Mexican Minister of Industry, Commerce and Labor Louis Morones on Jan. 15. The following day Minister Morones announced that the Mexican Government in its relations with the petroleum industry desired only "to make it each day more important." He stated that "the cooperation of all companies, foreign and Mexican, is welcomed," and that foreign investors "are given the same protection of law and the moral aid of the authorities as Mexican investors." Foreign petroleum companies in Mexico up to Jan. 19 had filed forty-one injunction suits against alleged retroactive application of the petroleum law. This action was taken following a conference between representatives of petroleum interests and Ambassador Sheffield. Twenty-seven applications for injunctions against the application of the petroleum law were denied by the lower court in Mexico City and fourteen similar applications were likewise denied in Tampico on Jan. 23. The petroleum companies plan to carry their applications to the Supreme Court. Guy Stevens, Director of the Association of Producers of Petroleum in Mexico, with headquarters in New York, expressed the opinion late in January that "the petroleum law confiscates now and completely every petroleum right that has ever existed in the Republic of Mexico." President Calles stated on Feb. 5 that the Mexican Government "expects fruitful results" from the promised cooperation of the oil companies with the Department of Industry, Commerce and

Labor "in studying the regulations of the oil law."

Serious differences of opinion developed early in February between Colonel Henry M. Anderson and Aquiles Elorduy, agents respectively of the United States and Mexico before the Special Claims Commission, created by the Mexican-United States Claims Convention of Sept. 10, 1923. Colonel Anderson was reported to have charged that Señor Elorduy had refused to admit that the Convention authorized the submission to the commission of claims which originated in revolutions other than those which brought into power Madero, Carranza and Obregón. Señor Elorduy on Feb. 10 issued a statement denying that any "serious difficulty" existed between the two representatives and adding that the whole question was that of finding a common basis for two different viewpoints.

The United States Senate early in February suspended consideration of the pending extradition treaty between the United States and Mexico as a result of the execution at Torreón of Colonel Demétrio Torres, alleged De la Huerta refugee. Torres was returned to Mexico by United States immigration authorities at Laredo, Texas, on Jan. 13, on the ground that he had entered the United States in alleged violation of the immigration laws. United States Assistant Secretary of Labor Husband stated that Torres was surrendered to Mexican authorities only after telegraphic assurances had been given by President Calles that Torres would not be dealt with as a political prisoner. President Calles on Feb. 3 denied that he had ever "transmitted any such pledge" of immunity. President Calles stated that Torres had been declared an outlaw by the Mexican Government for having blown up three trains and committed twenty ruthless murders. He asserted that "Torres was regularly tried before a Judge, the sentence was imposed and duly carried out."

Officials of the United States Department of Justice at San Antonio, Texas, announced on Feb. 2 that a group of Mexican political refugees in that city was actively fomenting a revolution in Mexico. Evidence that the revolutionary junta was planning to dynamite a train as proof of revolutionary unrest was turned over to

United States Federal Attorney Hartman for submission to the Federal Grand Jury.

In accordance with an agreement reached on Oct. 23, 1925, between Mexican Finance Minister Pani and the International Committee of Bankers in Mexico, the National Railways of Mexico were returned on Jan. 1 to corporate management, with B. F. Holloway, former counsel for the Mexican Railway Company, as Executive President. The modified agreement became legally effective with its official promulgation by President Calles on Feb. 3.

Floods in the State of Nayarit in Western Mexico early in January exacted a toll of 150 lives, made 15,000 people homeless and did damage to property estimated at \$5,000,000.

## Nicaragua

CARLOS SOLORIZANA, President of Nicaragua from Jan. 1, 1925, resigned his office on Jan. 14, 1926. Three days later the Nicaraguan Congress chose as his successor General Emiliano Chamorro, the leader of the *coup d'état* of Oct. 25, 1925, which resulted in the forced reorganization of Solorzana's Cabinet so as to exclude all Liberal members and to include Chamorro as Minister of War.

The Governments of the United States, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador and Costa Rica refused to recognize the new Government. In a letter to the Nicaraguan Minister in Washington made public on Jan. 25, Secretary Kellogg set forth the attitude and policy of the Government of the United States toward the present régime in Nicaragua and toward the future recognition of Central American Governments. The letter stated that the proceedings by which the Presidency changed hands were not in accord with the Treaty of Peace and Amity which was signed on Feb. 7, 1923, between the five republics of Central America, and the object of which treaty was "to promote constitutional Government and orderly procedure in Central America."

The Nicaraguan Congress on Jan. 22 named Dr. Cuadra Pasos, President of the Senate, as special envoy to proceed to Washington and urge upon the State Department recognition of General Chamorro's Government.

## Haiti

THE following quotations taken from the December (1925) "Monthly Bulletin" published by the office of the Financial Adviser—General Receiver of the Republic of Haiti—reveal in some measure the nature of the progress and development in that republic. "Revenue receipts during December were the greatest for any single month in the history of Haiti for which statistics are available." "On the last day of 1925 the balance sheet of the Government was the strongest which has ever been presented. It was slightly inferior to 30,000,000 gourdes [a gourde is equivalent to 20 cents], and showed increased assets of more than 2,000,000 gourdes over Dec. 31, 1924." "The increase in total foreign commerce [during November, 1924] amounted to 11.24 per cent." "With the completion of the Palace of Finance at Port au Prince, the biggest building project yet undertaken by the American Occupation has been placed in service. It is worthy of note that this structure, originally estimated at 500,000 gourdes, was completed well within the estimate in spite of the fact that a great many changes and additions were brought about after construction started." "Three educational institutions were completed during the month of December, providing for 750 additional students."

## Cuba

AN additional extradition treaty between Cuba and the United States, augmenting the list of extraditable crimes set forth in the extradition treaty of April 6, 1904, was signed in Havana on Jan. 14 by United States Ambassador Crowder and Cuban Secretary of State De Cespedes. The object of the treaty is "the better administration of justice and the prevention of crime in both countries." Its ratification would make possible the extradition of alleged violators of the narcotic, customs, bankruptcy, and suspension of payment laws. Provision was also made for extradition in cases involving certain immoral crimes. Secretary of State De Cespedes referred to the treaty as "a new link in the traditional and fast friendship between the two nations."

## Progress in Settling Tacna-Arica Issue

*Argentine Congress Fails to Act on Budget—British Syndicate to Exploit 120,000 Square Miles in Bolivia—New Presidential Elections to be Held in Brazil*

By HARRY T. COLLINGS

Professor of Economics, University of Pennsylvania

THE past month has witnessed progress toward the settlement of the Tacna-Arica controversy. On Dec. 9, 1925, Chile appealed to President Coolidge, as arbitrator, from a decision of the Plebiscitary Commission. This decision related to the settlement of dates and the arrangements for voting at the plebiscite which is to determine the nationality of the disputed provinces. The commission directed registration and election boards to begin to function on Feb. 15, 1926, or as soon thereafter as practicable, and to continue to act for one month. The date of the plebiscitary vote was fixed at April 15, 1926. On Jan. 15 President Coolidge, as arbitrator, gave his opinion and decision on the appeal of Chile. He sustained the interpretation placed on the Tacna-Arica arbitral award by General John J. Pershing that the commission had the "full authority necessary for the determination of prerequisites of a fair plebiscite." On Jan. 29 the President rendered a second decision in which he dealt with certain points of Chile's appeal not covered in his previous reply. In his opinion these points did not "call for further action by the arbitrator."

Before leaving for the United States on Jan. 27, General Pershing, who had been for almost six months actively engaged in Chile as head of the Tacna-Arica Commission, issued a proclamation "to the people of the plebiscitary area." In the course of this announcement he declared:

My sole thought has been to insure to all the electors in the plebiscite the right unmolested to express their will at the polls and thus peaceably determine the eventual sovereignty over the territory.

After most careful consideration, just rules and regulations under the award have been adopted by the commission to fix qualifications and safeguard the rights of the voters on both sides of the contest.

Major Gen. William Lassiter, successor of General Pershing in the disputed area, sailed from Panama on the American cruiser Cleveland on Jan. 13. He reached Arica Jan. 21 and was welcomed by General Pershing and by Augustin Edwards, head of the Chilean delegation. General Lassiter began at once to take over the duties of Chairman. Two weeks later Señor Edwards announced his resignation from the delegation and his intention of returning to Santiago Feb. 14. Personal reasons are believed to have furnished the motive for the resignation of Señor Edwards. Three other prominent members of the Chilean delegation planned to return with their chief. The Chilean Government at Santiago indicated that other commissioners would be appointed and the work pushed to its conclusion. The assumption of the office of Foreign Minister by Señor Mathieu, who has just returned to his native country after spending several years in Washington as Chilean Ambassador, augurs well for the initiation of a more effective policy in the settlement of the dispute.

At a meeting of the commission on Feb. 8 appeals from both Peru and Chile were certified for presentation to President Coolidge. Both appeals have to do with the qualifications of voters as laid down in the election law adopted for the coming plebiscite. The Peruvian objection was based on the inclusion among qualified voters of employees of the Arica-La Paz Railroad and other concerns subsidized by the Chilean Government. They maintained that this violated the provision of the arbitral award disqualifying employees of either Government. Approximately a thousand votes are involved in this point. The Chilean objection was based on the disqualification of Government and municipal employees, including teachers and postal and telegraph workers. These, the Chile-

ans asserted, are not political or fiscal appointees. Chile also objected to the decision that all proofs of Tacna-Arica nativity should be accepted as long as they appeared to be relevant and reliable.

Renewed interest in aviation was aroused in South America during the past month by the successful flight of three Spanish airmen from Palos, Spain, to Buenos Aires. The Spanish seaplane, *Ne Plus Ultra*, piloted by Commander Ramon Franco, accompanied by two companions, left Palos on Jan. 22. Stops were made at the Canary Islands, the Cape Verde Islands, St. Paul's Rocks and Fernando do Noronha. The mainland of South America was first touched at Pernambuco, Brazil, where the aviators arrived on Jan. 31. The journey was then continued along the coast of Brazil and Uruguay to Buenos Aires, making a flight of 6,232 miles from the port of Palos, Spain.

## Argentina

**A**RGININE crops and live stock have been favored by recent good weather conditions.

The failure of Congress to act on the budget and on other items of President de Alvear's financial program tended to retard business. Since Congress had not yet considered the budget, monthly authorizations for expenditures seemed probable until the next regular session in May. The non-consolidated debt of the republic amounted to 485,000,000 paper pesos (the paper peso is approximately \$0.41) on Dec. 31, 1925. The total public debt service for 1926 was estimated at 168,000,000 pesos.

The Rockefeller Foundation was assisting in stamping out yellow fever by financing an investigation in Argentina for the next two or three years. The Foundation was to pay the expenses of Raymond C. Shannon, an American scientist, who left Washington, Jan. 30, en route to Buenos Aires, to accept a position with the Argentine Department of Public Health.

## Bolivia

**T**HE 1926 budget for Bolivia was presented to the Chamber of Deputies by President Siles. It proposed expendi-

tures of 44,482,183 bolivianos (the boliviano is approximately \$0.30) and estimated revenues at the same amount.

The London Daily Graphic (Feb. 2) outlines the plans of a British syndicate which is to take over a Bolivian concession of 120,000 square miles, the largest ever obtained by British citizens outside of British territory. Signor Roberto Villanueva, the Bolivian Consul General in London, supplying the details, said:

Briefly, the Government concession is for 30,000,000 acres of agricultural and forest land, freehold in perpetuity, 10,000,000 acres of oil rights and 10,000,000 acres of mineral rights. The syndicate has the right to build roads, railways, ports and factories, and the right to operate steamers under the Bolivian flag. All the syndicate's exports will be duty and tax free for twenty-five years, and it has the right to import 12,000 European families.

In return, the syndicate has undertaken to build a port at Gaiba, to construct sixty miles of railway to Santo Corazon, and to erect and equip a wireless station. After twenty-five years the port and railway will be transferred to Bolivia.

## Brazil

**I**NTEREST in political affairs has been manifest in Brazil since the beginning of the year due to the election of a new President and Vice President, to be held on March 1. President Bernardes, whose term ends Nov. 15, 1926, is not eligible for reelection according to constitutional restriction. Dr. Washington Luiz, an official candidate for the Presidency, read his platform before a party convention on Dec. 28. He advocated strict economy in Government expenditures, in which he would be following in the footsteps of President Bernardes, the restoration of the gold standard for the currency, the stabilization of exchange rates, and the development of transportation systems.

In the economic field Brazil's greatest problems centred about public finance. There was much discussion in the press with reference to the action the Government would take to meet the terms of the 1914 funding loan contract. This provided that on July 31, 1927, amortization payments must begin on the sixteen loans whose interest was funded in 1914. It was not clear whether the Treasury would have sufficient funds from regular revenue to meet the



first of the amortization payments, or whether special sources of income must be created to take care of this debt service.

## Chile

**T**HE new banking law established in Chile by the Kemmerer Commission, becomes effective March 26. The Minister of Hacienda (Treasury) has issued a decree, however, making effective from the time of issuance, Chapter V of the law, covering bankruptcy and the liquidation of banking concerns. This action was forced by the condition of the Banco Español de Chile (Spanish Bank of Chile). This institution closed its doors and suspended payment on all of its obligations on Dec. 1, 1925. Heavy withdrawals toward the end of November impelled the directorate to take this action. According to a statement of the manager of the bank, deposit funds were protected and would be paid in full. Since the institution was under the protection of the new banking law, no action for collection could be begun against it for sixty days.

The 1926 budget was under discussion by the Government. Optimism prevailed as to passage in its present form. Only a slight deficit was apparent for the year. The Finance Minister announced that he would not resort to the loan authorized Dec. 23, 1925, until after Congress had convened.

A shipment of \$10,000,000 worth of gold bullion was landed in New York from the Chilean steamer Teno on Feb. 3. This consignment from the Banco Central de Chile to the National Bank of Commerce was said to be the largest gold shipment ever brought to this country from South America and the largest private transaction of the sort on record. The bullion, sent here in connection with the establishment of the new central bank of Chile, was stowed away in a concrete safe built especially for the trip.

## Ecuador

**P**RESS dispatches from Guayaquil, under date of Jan. 13, stated that the military Government had given way to a civil Cabinet. Señor Dr. Don Gonzalo

Cordova, inaugurated as President Sept. 1, 1924, was driven from office July 9, 1925, by a bloodless military *coup d'état* led by General Francisco Gomez de la Torre, who together with two others formed a Government with Modesto Larrea Jijon as Premier. This was the Government which was replaced by a civil Cabinet.

Economic legislation of importance became effective Jan. 1. It provided chiefly for the abolition of cable and other minor taxes, revision of the income tax, and the increase of consular fees. The additional revenue from these fees, which will amount to more than \$2,000,000 annually, may be used as a guaranty for a foreign loan. Such legislation, together with the probable establishment of a central bank, should serve as a stimulus to national industry.

## Peru

**T**HE Government budget for 1926 was approved. It estimated receipts and expenditures at 9,417,619 Peruvian pounds, an increase of more than 900,000 pounds over 1925. President Leguía introduced into Congress a measure providing for the establishment of income and profits taxes, on which action may be taken in the present session. The President also requested that Congress authorize a loan of £1,500,000 from London bankers, to be secured by the salt revenues.

Jan. 15 marked the forty-fifth anniversary of the battle of Miraflores, which in 1881 proved the culmination of the Peruvian defeat in the war with Chile, whereby the Provinces of Tacna and Arica were lost to Peru. President Leguía, himself a veteran of that battle, on the occasion of the anniversary in Lima, reviewed the Peruvian Army and expressed the nation's hope for the recovery of the provinces.

Dr. William McGovern, explorer, accompanied by a photographer, arrived in Lima in January, after having spent eight months in exploration of the Rivers Negro, Apoparis and Yapura in Northwestern Brazil. He also traversed the little-known country near the junction of the Colombian, Venezuelan and Brazilian frontiers, and reported the discovery of six hitherto undescribed Indian tribes.

## Lloyd George's Political Predicament

*New Split in British Liberal Ranks—Irish Economic Reconstruction  
—Canadian Cabinet Saved by Progressives—Constitutional Issue  
in New South Wales—Indian Moslem's New Party*

By RALSTON HAYDEN

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PARLIAMENT began a new session on Feb. 2 with the reading of the King's speech, through which the Government outlined its general program. Reductions in public expenditures and government guarantee of loans for the development of British dependencies and territories in East Africa were forecast among the various measures to be introduced. The latter proposal was approved in the subsequent debate by ex-Premier Lloyd George as aid for cotton growing in those regions. "It is a very risky position," he said, "that we should be entirely dependent on the United States for cotton." The speech from the throne also declared that reviving industry was arrested by fears of industrial strife and an appeal was made to all parties to avoid action which would again postpone the return of good trade and prosperity.

In the debate on the address-in-reply, J. R. Clynes, speaking for the Labor Opposition, complained that the Government prospectus promised nothing of substantial value, and that the Government had not fulfilled promises previously made. He welcomed the disarmament conference, in which it was proposed that Great Britain should participate, but asked what practical example of disarmament the Government would offer. He also criticized the Government for its persistently unfriendly attitude toward the Government of Russia. Mr. Lloyd George, who led the attack for the Liberals, asked how the Prime Minister proposed to meet the crisis which would occur when the subsidy now being paid to the coal industry expired. The Government, he said, was now paying 27 per cent. of the miners' wages and would be paying 40 per cent. by next May. The debate also brought out further details concerning the Conservative land policy.

Further progress toward solving the housing problem was made on Feb. 11, when the House of Commons passed the Government's bill appropriating £200,000 for the building of steel houses in Scotland.

Lloyd George's land reform campaign had an interesting result when Sir Alfred Mond resigned from membership in the Liberal Party on Jan. 25. Mond, who had been twice a Liberal member of the Coalition Cabinet, in going over to the Conservatives declared that "all efforts to revivify and reorganize the Liberal forces have been rendered hopeless by the introduction by Mr. Lloyd George of a land policy which has produced new and profound cleavage and embarrassment in the Liberal ranks." On Feb. 1, however, Lloyd George was re-elected Chairman of the Liberal Parliamentary Party by 17 votes to 7. But the rift in the Liberal lute was made manifest by the abstention of most of the followers of Lord Oxford (formerly Mr. Asquith), by the hostility of the radical members of the party and by the defection of another Liberal member, Major Entwistle, to the Conservatives.

The National Union of Railwaymen on Jan. 22 rejected the wage award made by the National Wages Board. More than six months before the railwaymen put forth demands for an "all grade" increase in wages, holidays and pensions that if granted would have cost the companies £40,000,000 annually. The latter demanded a decrease, rather than an increase in wages, and the dispute went through the national arbitration machinery. The highest tribunal in this system, upon which the men, the companies and the public are represented, refused the men's demands, declined to touch the wages of present employes, but ordered a cut for new and promoted men after Feb. 1. After their re-

jection of this decision, the railwaymen reopened direct negotiations with the companies, demanding that the employers agree not to enforce that part of the Wages Board award which permits them to engage new men at reduced pay and that they acknowledge the present basic rates of pay as permanent rates.

The cruiser *Suffolk* was launched at the Portsmouth naval yards on Feb. 16 and announcement was made that the other four cruisers of her class authorized by the Labor Government would be launched within the next few months. The new vessels were to constitute a powerful and homogeneous naval unit and reach the limit of size and armament allowed by the Washington naval convention.

## Ireland

THE Minister of Finance of the Irish Free State on Feb. 3 announced the formation of the Free State Banking Commission, "to consider and report what changes, if any, in the law relative to banking and note issue are necessary or desirable, regard being had to the altered circumstances arising out of the establishment of the Free State." Henry Parker Willis of New York, well-known American economist and former Secretary of the Federal Reserve Board, was named as Chairman of the commission. Other members include the London manager of the Commonwealth Bank of Australia and R. K. L. Galloway, Managing Director of the Ulster Bank. The appointment of the latter member was regarded as a friendly gesture to Northern Ireland and as an indication that it was not the desire of the Free State to introduce banking legislation which would be antagonistic to Ulster. The Irish press indicated an expectation that the scope of the inquiry would include the entire economic outlook of the Free State.

The Irish Free State Government registered with the League of Nations at Geneva on Feb. 9 the Irish boundary agreement, despite the fact that the British Foreign Office had already notified the League that it could not recognize the registration of treaties and agreements between integral parts of the British Empire.

The Free State Senate on Feb. 12 rejected a Government bill which would

have introduced sex discrimination in the civil service by restricting certain examinations to men only and others to women only.

Another step toward a return to normal conditions in Northern Ireland was taken when, during January, thirty-three political prisoners were released by order of the Ulster Government. The act was declared to have been one of the results of the recent settlement of the Irish boundary question. The termination of that dangerous dispute was also the occasion of the resignation of Lord Londonderry from the positions of Minister of Education and Leader of the Senate of Northern Ireland. Lord Londonderry was succeeded by Lord Charlemont.

## Canada

PROGRESSIVE support, granted in the crucial division taken on Jan. 15 upon the Conservative motion of "no confidence" in the Government, gained for the Liberal Government of Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King Parliamentary approval of its action in calling Parliament to consider the Governor General's speech instead of resigning after the election of last November. It also assured the King Government of an indefinite, if somewhat precarious, tenure of office. All but five of the Progressives voted with the Government, as did two Labor members and one Independent. Following this decisive division, the House proceeded with the debate upon the address-in-reply to the Governor General's speech. The Conservative forces, led by Arthur Meighan, moved a series of amendments designed to win over enough Progressive votes to defeat the Government. Although the struggle was close enough to be exciting, the Liberal whips each time came to the division lobbies with enough votes to save the Government.

Great interest was taken in the attempt of Mackenzie King, who was defeated at the general election, to win the seat vacated for him in the Prince Albert constituency. At first it was taken for granted that his return would be unopposed. On Feb. 5, however, D. L. Burgess, an independent candidate, opened a vigorous campaign against him.

One of the first important acts of the

new Parliament was to set up a committee to investigate charges of corruption which were made against the Canadian customs service by H. H. Stevens, the Conservative member representing Vancouver Centre.

Members of the Commons manifested much interest in the bill recently introduced into the United States Senate providing for the creation of a nine-foot navigable channel on the Illinois and Mississippi rivers, and in response to questions the Minister of the Interior announced on Jan. 25 that the Canadian Government would protest to the United States Government against the diversion of lake water which would be necessary for such a project. On the same date Canada officially registered with the League of Nations four treaties with the United States. These agreements provided for the suppression of smuggling along the Canadian-American border, for extradition, for the further demarcation of the boundary between the two countries and for regulating the level of the Lake of the Woods.

The end of an interesting experiment in mass immigration seems to have been marked by the sale late in January of the Doukhobor holdings in the Kamasack district of Saskatchewan to the Ukrainian Immigration and Colonization Association of Edmonton. The transaction involved 50,000 acres of farm lands with their entire equipment of buildings, household goods and farm implements. The sale price was reported to have been \$1,250,000. The Doukhobors, some 2,500 in number, intend to return to Russia immediately. Although it met with considerable success economically, the colony was not assimilated into the body politic of Saskatchewan, and its history has been one of stormy differences with the Provincial Government and with other settlers.

## Australia

**L**ORD STONEHAVEN, Governor General of the Commonwealth, opened the Australian Federal Parliament on Jan. 13. His speech contained the announcement that legislation would be introduced forbidding the establishment of associations having as their object the overthrow of constitutional government and providing

for the legal punishment of persons promoting such organizations. The Government also proposed the enactment of laws to prevent unjustifiable interference with the transportation of goods and passengers. Other important measures forecast in the speech were bills to increase the efficiency of the Arbitration Court, to give trade unionists control over their own officers by means of the secret ballot, to secure a uniform railway gauge, and to provide for the development of the Northern Territory. The speech also emphasized the vital importance of forwarding measures for adequate national defense.

It is doubtful whether any legislative body in a civilized country has ever been chosen by so large a proportion of the qualified voters as the present Australian House of Representatives. Final returns showed that in the recent elections 91.62 per cent. of the males on the register and 90.99 per cent. of the females voted. The average in American national elections in recent years has been less than 55 per cent. The remarkably high percentage of voting in this election in Australia was attributed by many observers to the application of the recently enacted law imposing a fine of \$10 for non-registration or non-voting.

In New South Wales the struggle continued over the proposed abolition of the Legislative Council of that State.

Much enthusiasm was shown in Australian ports upon the occasion of the visit in Australian waters of the Japanese cruiser Iwate. Receptions to officers and other ranks and much friendly speech-making marked the progress of the vessel.

## New Zealand

**E**MIGRANTS to the number of 8,496 received assisted passages from Great Britain to New Zealand during 1925, according to figures recently published by the Dominion Government. Had not the shipping strike interfered with transportation, the 10,000 settlers which the country believes it can absorb annually would have reached New Zealand shores before the end of the year. The High Commissioner for New Zealand in London stated that the marked increase in emigrants during the last six months of 1925 was due in part



to the new agreement between the British and the Dominion Governments under which the passage rates were considerably reduced.

## South Africa

AN appeal for "the greatest possible measure of national unity and cooperation" in dealing with the problem of the native races, coupled with an intimation that General Hertzog's bills for the solution of the native problem would not be introduced during the present session, was the outstanding feature of the Governor General's speech upon the opening of the Union Parliament on Jan. 22. No mention was made of the Imperial Conference or of the Locarno pacts, an omission which was generally interpreted as a concession to *backveld* sentiment. Public opinion seemed to support the Prime Minister's determination not to submit his native bills to Parliament until the policy involved should have been thoroughly discussed by the various elements in the country outside of Parliament—the industrial and agricultural interests, the professional classes and the various racial elements involved. It was even thought that in time General Hertzog might assent to General Smuts's proposal to put the entire matter before a national convention.

The fundamental diversity of interests between the Nationalist and Labor groups in the present coalition was brought out during the recent shipping strike. At the behest of its Labor members, the Government assumed an attitude of "neutrality" which was almost one of encouragement to the strikers. But when South African farmers had lost the early market in England and the citrus fruit growers and dairy producers had suffered severely as a result of the Government's policy a revulsion of feeling came which led to a different attitude toward the strike. Another factor which threatened to disturb the present political balance was the aggressive attitude and growing power of Labor's left wing. At the annual conference of the party, held early in January, the extremists openly flouted Colonel Cresswell, Minister of Defense and official leader of the Parliamentary group, and

gave other evidence of their determination to support more radical men and measures. It was also noted in the South African press that during his recent political tour of the Orange Free State, the Prime Minister's stronghold, General Smuts, the Opposition leader, was repeatedly asked why the National and the South African parties did not reunite. Such a reconciliation might, perhaps, be acceptable to the two leaders and many of their followers, but, it was said, it would not be assented to by Tielman Roos, the Transvaal Nationalist, save upon terms that could never be accepted by the English-speaking members of the South African party. Mr. Roos is an unrepentant secessionist whose purpose seems to be to unite all Dutch-speaking South Africans into one party working for eventual separation from the British Empire.

## India

LORD READING, the retiring Viceroy and Governor General, on Jan. 22 opened the last session of the Legislative Assembly during his term of office. His most important statement with reference to domestic matters had to do with the suspension of the cotton excise duty. The suspension, which became effective on Dec. 1, he declared to have been wholly the decision of the Indian Government, based on financial considerations with which the Secretary of State for India, in London, had nothing to do. The Viceroy expressed regret that Indian political leaders, meaning the Swarajists, had not responded more fully to the Earl of Birkenhead's "message of sympathetic encouragement." Although he had felt some change in the tone and temper of the politicians toward the Government, he hoped that during the ensuing session of the Assembly this change of attitude might be unmistakable. Lord Reading also announced the creation of a Royal Indian Navy, in which commissions would be granted to natives.

In Indian political circles interest was centred during the month upon the work of Sir Abdur Rahim in establishing a new Moslem party in Bengal. Sir Abdur's Alighur speech (CURRENT HISTORY, February, 1926, page 742) setting forth the

fundamental political difference between the Moslem and Hindu elements of the population seemed to have increased his political strength and to have marked the final failure of the Hindu-Moslem pact. Another event which was regarded by many Indians as being of great significance was the announcement by Mahatma Gandhi that, after consulting with his friends at the Indian National Congress at Cawnpore, he had decided to take a year's rest. A considerable section of the press interpreted this statement to mean that the great Mahatma had retired from politics.

The Indian Currency Commission, under the chairmanship of Commander Hilton Young, completed its work in India and left for London on Jan. 16. At hearings held by the commission the Bombay Chamber of Commerce suggested that the stability of the rupee could best be se-

cured by the adoption of a gold basis and declared that India should have a full gold standard and gold currency. The Indian Merchants' Chamber of Commerce and the Bombay Mill Owners' Association also recommended the adoption of a full gold standard and gold currency.

Despite the difficulties, due to strikes and other causes, which the Indian mill industry suffered during the past year, the Viceroy, in a recent speech, declared that the trade revival witnessed in 1924-1925 had been continued into 1926. Lord Reading pointed out that a budget surplus had been announced at the beginning of the fiscal year 1925 for the first time in six years. It was this favorable situation which had permitted the suspension of the 3½ per cent. excise duty on Indian cotton goods, and it was the Government's intention to abolish it altogether.

[FRANCE AND BELGIUM]

## Briand Gives French Chamber Ultimatum to Settle Budget

*Effect of World War on French Population—Hostility to Americans and English—Death of Cardinal Mercier in Belgium—Crisis Over Reduction of Military Service in Belgian Army*

By CARL BECKER

John Stambaugh Professor of History, Cornell University

THE question of chief political importance in France continued to be that of balancing the budget. The problem was to increase the revenue sufficiently to meet the deficit, which was approximately 4,500,000,000 francs; to provide for a sinking fund, which required at least another billion, and to do this in such a way as to check the fall of the franc and the rise of prices. To accomplish this the Government plan, or at least the plan of Finance Minister Doumer, provided for a tax on Bourse operations, a tax on exports, an increase in the price of tobacco, and more especially for an exceptional tax of 1.2 per cent. on payments. This plan Premier Briand with difficulty got the Cabinet to adopt on Dec.

29. Opposed by certain elements of both the Right and Left groups, this plan was rejected by the Finance Commission, which proceeded to formulate a plan of its own. The plan of the Finance Commission, which was understood to be inspired by the Radical-Socialist groups, provided for certain increases in the indirect taxes, an increase in the stamp tax on the sale of stocks, a new tax on exports, an increase in the telephone and telegraph rates and in the price of tobacco. It also provided for economies in administration. But the chief points of the plan were the provisions for increasing the inheritance tax, for improving the yield of the income tax, and rather drastic measures for taxing the incomes of foreigners.

The issue was thus clearly drawn between what was supposed to be the Government plan and the plan of the Left groups. With the Government plan rejected by the Finance Commission, and almost certain to fail in the Chamber, the normal procedure would have been for Premier Briand to resign, or at least to ask for the resignation of Finance Minister Doumer. He did neither; but although Doumer remained in office, his plan ceased to have the unqualified support of the Premier. Briand, in fact, adopted the neutral policy of submitting both plans (the Doumer plan and the plan of the Finance Commission) to the Chamber without recommending either. This attitude laid him open to the witty charge of attempting to carry a Left program with a Right majority, as he formerly attempted to carry a Right program with a Left majority. To this charge he effectively replied: "It is not my fault if I am always called upon to deal with paradoxical situations." Briand apparently abandoned the attempt to carry a party program, and directed his effort to working out a compromise solution which all parties could agree to. His reasons for taking this line of action were apparently two. First, after the failure of so many projects the resignation of the Ministry would be generally regarded as creating a serious crisis, especially since neither Herriot nor Caillaux, the only obvious successors to Briand, appeared to be willing to accept the responsibility of office. Second, one essential of the financial situation was the necessity of checking the fall of the franc, and Briand maintained that this could be done only by a general confidence in whatever measures are adopted. Such confidence could be established only by abandoning the political game and uniting all parties in a serious and loyal effort to meet the situation on its merits. He therefore refused to commit himself to either plan, insisting that the Chamber should work out, in some happy fashion, a new one combining the best elements of both.

On Jan. 26 the Chamber took up the two projects, and the character of the discussion offered slight prospect of any immediate compromise. Each side riddled

the proposals of the other and resorted to the common tactics of mutual party recrimination.

The principal speech of Jan. 26-27 was that of Jacques Dumesnil, friend of Caillaux and former Minister under Herriot, who was understood to be voicing the demands of the Radical-Socialist groups. He defended the commission plan on the ground that it would make the rich pay their share, and at the same time bring in a larger revenue. Doumer defended his project on Jan. 29, and the following day Bokanowski spoke for the Right. He made the familiar appeal for "sacred union" without answering definitely the query "Union for what, with whom, on what program?" His speech was chiefly an elaboration of the stock arguments against "collectivism."

Nevertheless the Government on Feb. 3-4 gained what was regarded as a victory in connection with the debate on Article 58 of the commission plan. This article, sponsored by Leon Blum, the Socialist leader, made it compulsory for every Frenchman to declare on oath his total income, failing which he would lose his right to vote. The article was so changed and amended that it was referred back to the commission, and with it Articles 59 and 60. The only result of the long debate was the adoption of a resolution favoring the publication of income tax payments. The fate of Article 58 was felt to be a serious defeat for the Finance Commission plan, that is a defeat for the Radical-Socialist bloc, since it meant that the Chamber was not ready to sanction any serious effort to make people pay income taxes.

The debate fell to the level of comic opera on Feb. 5. In a spirit of derision the Chamber passed, by a vote of 442 to 2, a resolution requiring all Deputies to publish their incomes, the number and values of their properties, the number of their automobiles, their horses and carriages and a statement of their total wealth on Aug. 1, 1914, and on Nov. 11, 1918. This byplay the journals scored unmercifully the next morning, and even the *Quotidien*, the chief organ of the Left Bloc and little inclined to criticise the Chamber, took occasion, on behalf of the national honor, to

recall the Deputies to a sense of public dignity.

The Government made several efforts during February to bring the Chamber to a realization of the need for speedy enactment of a fiscal program that would stabilize the currency. Finance Minister Doumer on Feb. 8 appeared before the Chamber and denied a report that the Government expected that a new inflation of the franc would be necessary before the middle of March. He said that, though there was still time to balance the budget without such inflation, it was imperative that no time be lost. The Deputies, however, continued their policy of protracted and seemingly futile debate, and on Feb. 9 Premier Briand made three speeches, emphatically urging "speed, unity and common sense."

M. Briand remarked that the debate had already lasted fifteen days, and he gave the Chamber one week more to adopt some plan for meeting the budget deficit. The Premier warned that if nothing specific were achieved in that time "the Government would then place its existence in the scales." M. Briand's ultimatum failed to procure any immediate results. The Chamber on Feb. 10 continued its discussion of the Finance Commission plan, and the only action taken was the approval by a vote of 416 to 100 of an amendment substantially reducing the tax obligations of the farmers. Premier Briand again emphasized the danger of wasting time by rhetorical quibbling, and, again failing to impress the Chamber, he forced a vote of confidence on Feb. 12. The vote was on a minor point of the fiscal bill. Premier Briand, in demanding a show of support, hinted that a dictatorship would follow his resignation. He won, receiving a vote of 327 to 182.

The question of France's foreign population took on a new importance with the announcement by the Paris Society of Medicine that many foreigners recently admitted to France were diseased, incompetent, or otherwise unfit. Contending that such persons were likely to become a charge on the nation, the society formally recommended that the Government adopt a system of selection to prevent defectives from

entering the country. Articles in Paris newspapers disclosed a shocking condition of congestion among the 40,000 colonials who comprise the North African colony of the metropolis; as a result of the revelations, the Paris City Council on Feb. 25 appointed a municipal commission to investigate and draft a plan of reforms. The Paris City Council announced that several schools had been closed for lack of pupils. It was explained that between 1914 and 1918 the number of children born was 40 per cent. less than normal, and that this shrinkage had resulted in a corresponding decline in school enrolments.

Gaston Cadoux, former President of the Paris Statistical Society, made public on Feb. 7 a table showing the effect of France's war mortality upon the economic life of the nation. The nation's dead totaled 1,363,000; of this number 669,000 were farmers, 235,000 were industrial workers and 159,000 were in commercial pursuits; 21,000 were Civil Service employes and 40,000 were members of the professions. According to M. Cadoux's statement, one man in every twenty-eight in France was killed, one in thirty-five in Germany, and not quite one in sixty-six in England. A development which many ascribed to the pressure of the population problem was a perceptible hostility toward foreigners, especially toward Americans and English.

## Belgium

THE event of greatest public interest during the month in Belgium was the death of Cardinal Mercier on Jan. 23, 1926. The famous Cardinal was born in 1851 near Waterloo. Abandoning the study of medicine for the Church, he became an abbé, and was placed by Leo XIII in charge of the organization of the Institute of Philosophy in the University of Louvain. Pius X made him Cardinal in 1907. During the war he became a world figure on account of his fearless conduct in defiance of the German Governor of Belgium, and heroic defense of the Belgian people.

Aside from the ratification, with two dissenting votes, of the Washington agreement for the funding of the Belgian debt



to the United States, the chief political question was that of reducing the military service. General Kesten's army bill provided for reducing the service with the colors to ten months, but the Democrats and Socialists, who apparently had the country behind them, insisted that the reduction should apply to the 1925 class. General Kesten, Minister of Public Defense, maintained that this was inexpedient from a practical point of view. Finding himself in a minority in the Cabinet, he tendered his resignation, which was accepted Jan. 18. The Chief of the Belgian General Staff, Lieut. Gen. Maglinse, on Jan. 22 also resigned for the same reasons.

Public interest was much concerned with the general strike in the metal industries in the Charleroi region. A joint committee of the employers and workers adopted the following compromise: Re-

payment during the week following the men's return to work of the 5 per cent. deducted from their salaries between April 1 and June 15 last; a reduction of 5 per cent. on present salaries, and the payment in future of indemnities to the heads of families.

The strikers voted on this proposed solution on Jan. 8. A majority of those voting decided to accept the terms proposed. The National Council of the Miners' Federation on Jan. 20 issued a statement in which it declared that the fall of the franc obligated the Government to compel the employers to readjust wages to the rise in the cost of living, which had been at least 15 per cent. since February, 1925, when wages were last raised. The Federation threatened, if this was not done, to take steps to bring about a referendum on the question of a general strike.

[GERMANY AND AUSTRIA]

## New Coalition Cabinet in Germany

*Dr. Marx and Herr Kuelz Accept Portfolios in Dr. Luther's Re-organized Ministry—Chancellor's Statement Before The Reichstag—Reconstruction of Austrian Government*

By HARRY J. CARMAN

Assistant Professor of History, Columbia University

AFTER a six weeks' ministerial crisis featured by party bickerings and political manoeuvring, Chancellor Luther succeeded on Jan. 19 in completing his second Cabinet as follows:

HANS LUTHER—Chancellorship.

DR. GUSTAV STRESEMANN (People's Party)—Foreign Affairs.

DR. WILHELM KUELZ (Democrat)—Interior.

DR. PETER REINHOLD (Democrat)—Finance.

DR. OTTO GESSLER (Democrat)—Defense.

DR. JULIUS CURTIUS (People's Party)—Economics.

HEINRICH BRAUN (Centrist)—Labor.

DR. WILHELM MARX (Centrist)—Justice.

KARL STINGL (Bavarian People's Party)—Posts and Telegraphs.

DR. R. KROHNE (People's Party)—Transports.

Drs. Stresemann, Gessler, Stingl and Krohne were in the first Luther Cabinet. The long delay in forming the new Ministry was occasioned in part by the mad

scramble for the portfolio of the Minister of the Interior. The Democrats insisted that it go to their representative, Dr. Koch. The German People's Party likewise insisted that it go to Herr Curtius, a Rhineland lawyer, who has devoted most of his life to science and who did not enter politics until 1920. The members of the People's Party feared that if a Democrat were installed the Cabinet would be compelled to steer an all-too-liberal course, while the Democrats and the Left Wing of the Centre Party feared that if a member of the People's Party secured the office a wave of reaction would be certain to follow. Dr. Koch was also opposed by the Bavarian People's Party and by the Nationalists, the latter party regarding him as a Socialist in Democratic clothing. The deadlock was finally broken when President von Hindenburg sent for the leaders of the coalition

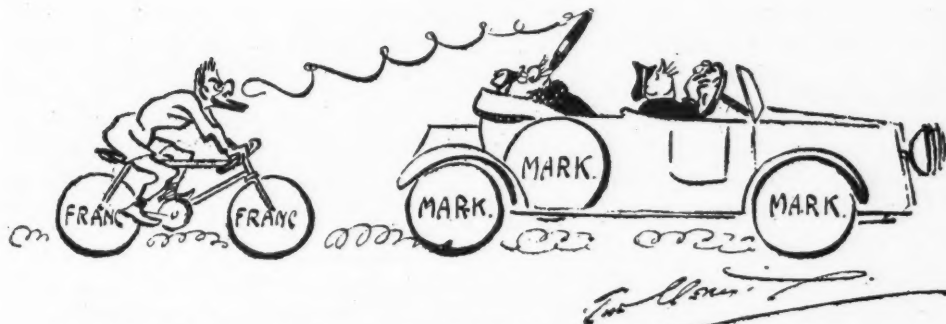
parties and in forceful language gave them four hours in which to come to an agreement. He informed them that, unless they could reach some accord, it would be necessary for him to find some other solution—which was interpreted by many to mean some sort of a dictatorship. In making up the final slate Herr Kuelz, ex-Mayor of Dresden, was substituted for Dr. Koch and Herr Curtius was given the portfolio of Economics.

The Socialists, numerically the strongest party in Germany, were not included in the new Government. It was understood, however, that they were in fullest sympathy with the Ministry's foreign policies and would support it so far as application for entrance into the League of Nations and the carrying out of the Locarno treaties were concerned. By the admission of Herr Curtius into the Cabinet the Dawes plan secured an ardent supporter, for it was through his efforts that the Nationalists voted for the plan. Although the new Cabinet is much more republican than its predecessor, its selection brought forth few expressions of satisfaction from the reactionary middle or radical groups. In all quarters, however, it was felt that the fate of the Ministry depended more upon its handling of domestic problems than what it might accomplish in the field of foreign relations.

In a twenty-five minutes' speech outlining the program of the new Ministry before the Reichstag on Jan. 26, the Chancellor alluded to Germany's entry into the League, the Locarno treaties and the Rhineland occupation. In discussing domestic affairs he bluntly rejected the proposal for a popular referendum on the claims of the Hohenzollerns and other former reigning families against the Republic as advocated by the Socialists and Communists and by many members of other parties. Among other things he stressed the need for private and public economy, the avoidance of excessive taxes and the urgent necessity of relieving the distress of the masses, particularly the unemployed. In this connection he advocated labor colonization in the unpopulated eastern provinces. The Government, he declared, would bend all its energies toward strengthening the country's economic position. He also urged financial

assistance for the farmers and the international regulation of tariff questions. The Government intended, he said, to continue its war on the high cost of living and high prices in general. He also announced the submission to the Reichstag of a law for the protection of German labor and the regulation of working hours. Regarding ratification of the Washington eight-hour day accord, he said German policy remained the same—namely, that the adoption of this agreement was dependent upon its application in England, France and Belgium. "The command of the hour is to labor objectively and practically for the rehabilitation of German trade and the German people. The more resolutely and powerfully this works, supported by all sections of the people, the sooner will Germany recover that position in the world to which the greatness and capability of her people entitle her."

With the exception of occasional outbursts by the Communist Deputies and hisses from the Extreme Right, the Reichstag listened to the Chancellor's program in silence. The hostile press, as was to be expected, was strongly condemnatory. Angered by this adverse criticism and by a Nationalist resolution which would make Germany's League collaboration contingent upon numerous allied concessions, and apparently resolved to have a "show-down," the Chancellor on Jan. 27 demanded a vote of confidence. This he received the following day, the Catholic Centre, the German and Bavarian People's Parties and the Democrats casting 160 votes for the Government, and the Nationalists, Communists and the Ludendorff Voelkische Party 150 votes against it. The Socialists and the Economic Union, mustering between them 131 votes, abstained from voting. Many felt that Luther's victory was due not so much to the neutrality of the Socialists and the Economic Union as to the feeble health of a half dozen Nationalists and a half dozen Communists whom the doctors forbade to attend the Reichstag. As it was, there were twenty absentees among the Opposition and only eleven among the governmental groups. It was considered significant that the total vote for the Ministry comprised less than one-third of the Reichstag membership.



The declining franc, looking at the stabilized mark, wonders who won the war.

—Yorkshire Evening News, Leeds, England

The Government's strongest weapon, and that which was the most potent to prevent its defeat, was an order for the dissolution of the Reichstag, which document, signed by President von Hindenburg, reposed in the Chancellor's pocket when the session began. Had the Cabinet failed to gain a majority Luther would have made immediate use of this instrument, and none of the parties, except, perhaps, the Communists, wanted the Reichstag dissolved, particularly as it would probably have resulted in decreeing a dictatorship pending a new general election.

Promptly on schedule time and amid scenes of greatest rejoicing, the British withdrew from the Cologne zone on Jan. 30, and on the following day the northern area of allied occupation was formally restored to German sovereignty.

In an effort to effect a compromise between the demands of the Socialists and the Nationalists for settlement of the claims of the former ruling families, the Government's parties on Feb. 2 completed a draft of the proposed law which, if accepted, would virtually mean a constitutional amendment. The measure provided for a special arbitration court of nine judges, seven to be appointed by the President of the Republic. Two days later the Reichstag, on Feb. 4, showed its anxiety to follow popular opinion by adopting by a two-thirds majority a bill which provided that all pending litigation concerning settlements by the various German States with their former rulers must be held in abeyance until June 30, 1926.

The last internal obstacle to Germany's application for admission to the League

of Nations was removed on Feb. 3 by the Foreign Relations Committee of the Reichstag, which, by a vote of 18 to 8, gave the Luther Government carte blanche in this matter.

Dr. Reinhold, Minister of Finance, on Feb. 10, laid before the Reichstag the Government's new budget program. The program, which was approved by a majority vote, provided for a tax reduction of 550,000,000 gold marks, this despite a present budget deficit of 370,000,000 gold marks. Dr. Reinhold explained that the cut in revenues, which would be met by an internal loan, was designed to remove the tax pressure that had handicapped German business.

Intense interest was manifested in the celebrated Feme case, in which eleven ex-officers and soldiers of Germany's Black Reichswehr were placed on trial, accused of having participated in at least twenty-five murders during the last three years. The court on Feb. 2 handed down four death sentences, freed five of the accused and sentenced two to imprisonment. In some quarters it was reported that the organization was closely allied with the ultra-reactionary Voelkische Party.

After they had hanged the ex-Kaiser in life-size effigy from a great gallows opposite the site of his former imperial residence, 60,000 Communists, many in military uniform and in battalion formation, celebrated Wilhelm's sixty-seventh birthday on Jan. 27 by clamoring for his death and the complete expropriation to Germany of the deposed ruler's property.

The industrial situation in Germany

showed no improvement, although people who were hopefully disposed found comfort in the unexpectedly good foreign trade returns for December. The rate of increase in bankruptcies slowed down, but the number of unemployed rose during the first half of January from 1,497,000 to 1,762,000.

## Austria

THE reconstructed Austrian Cabinet, containing three new Ministers, was formally inducted into office on Jan. 15. The personnel is as follows:

DR. RAMEK—Chancellorship and Foreign Affairs.

DR. LEOPOLD WEBER—Vice Chancellorship and Justice.

DR. EMILE SCHNEIDER—Education.

DR. JOSEPH RESCH—Social Welfare.

H. JOSEF KOLLMANN—Finance.

ANDREAS THALER—Agriculture and Forests.

HANS SCHURFF—Trade and Transport.

KARL VAUGOIN—Defense.

Drs. Ramek, Weber, Schneider, Resch, and Herr Vaugoin each held the same of-

fice in the preceding Cabinet. In outlining the Government's program, Dr. Ramek declared that although his Cabinet had no patent remedy to offer for existing difficulties in Austria, which were so closely connected with the economic struggles of Europe as a whole, the Government was determined to pursue energetically the task of developing the economic capacity of the country.

The industrial situation during the month under review showed little improvement. It was estimated on Jan. 31 that the average number of unemployed in 1925 amounted to 145,000, as compared with 90,000 in 1924. It was further estimated that the figure had probably exceeded the 250,000 mark since the beginning of 1926.

The police of Graz on Jan. 25 seized forty cases of machine guns, ammunition and rifles which were being smuggled through Austria by rail from Italy to Hungary. The arms were said to have been destined for use by one of the factions in dispute over the succession to the Hungarian throne.

## [ITALY]

# Mussolini's Warlike Threats to Germany

*Dictator's Resolve to Italianize Southern Tyrol—Refusal to Permit German Minorities to Appeal to League of Nations—Dispute Between Fascist Rulers and the Vatican*

By ELOISE ELLERY

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BELLICOSE utterances by Mussolini against Germany in connection with the Italian annexation of the Upper Trentino, or, as it is called by the Germans, Southern Tyrol, startled the whole world soon after the reopening of the Italian Parliament. Fascist chauvinism was already in evidence during the discussion of the Locarno settlement in the Chamber of Deputies in January. The only real opposition to the pacts came from the Communists, who denounced them as the expression of European imperialism. The other speakers, who were all Fascists, although approving of the treaty in general, referred to many injustices done to Italy

by the Versailles Peace Treaty and called attention to colonial mandates as glaring examples of the way in which Italy's rights were set aside. One speaker declared that "the future, which we hope and wish may be nothing but peaceful, may, instead, have some surprises in store." Other speeches were obviously influenced by the reputed anti-Italian manifestations and by criticisms of the Italian annexation of the Upper Trentino. Deputy Gorini, for instance, closed his speech by saying: "We who willingly gave our blood to reunite the Trentino to our country will know how to defend this conquest and Italy will not allow its rights to be disregarded again."



On the other hand, stress was laid on the increase of Italian prestige by the entrance of Italy into the Locarno compact as a guarantor by the side of Great Britain, and the treaty was approved by an almost unanimous vote.

Meanwhile meetings were held in several Italian cities to protest against what was called Germany's anti-Italian campaign and a student-led demonstration was attempted against the German Embassy in Rome. The Government, however, sternly repressed the demonstration, and the *Tribuno*, an official Fascist newspaper, warned the public that "the Government was quite able to safeguard Italian dignity without such reminders, and that a repetition would not be tolerated." Further, strict instructions were sent to all Prefects in the kingdom to prevent anti-German demonstrations. Though repressing acts of violence, the Government left no doubt as to its attitude in regard to the Trentino. In a speech before the Chamber on Feb. 6 Premier Mussolini caused a sensation by declaring:

We will apply, rigorously, methodically, obstinately, with a system of cool tenacity which is typical of Fascismo, all our laws to the inhabitants of the Upper Adige. I refer both to those this Chamber has voted and those it will vote in the future.

We will render that region Italian because it is Italian, both historically and geographically. The boundary of the Brenner Pass is a frontier traced by the infallible hand of God.

Dr. Gustav Stresemann, the German Foreign Minister, in a speech in the Reichstag on Feb. 9, replied to Mussolini. He began by recalling that the Southern Tyrol's inclusion within the Italian frontiers at the Peace Conference was accompanied by Italy's solemn promise to pursue a liberal policy in that province with regard to the German minority's speech, culture and economic interests, and that this pledge was reiterated in King Victor Emmanuel's address from the throne in 1919. "Now, however," Dr. Stresemann added, "there is no doubt about the deliberate degermanization of Southern Tyrol. Mussolini himself proclaimed this as the goal of Italian policy under the name of Italianization." Admitting that there had been false newspaper reports printed in Germany, notably about alleged Italian prohibition of Christ-

mas trees among the Tyroleans, but denying that the German Government ever had sanctioned these canards, Dr. Stresemann affirmed that private attempts at Munich and elsewhere to organize a boycott against Italy had received no support from any German or Bavarian authority. The German Foreign Minister continued:

Nevertheless, a purely private undertaking by irresponsible people led the Italian Premier to tell the German Ambassador he would forbid German imports into Italy and officially promote an Italian boycott of German goods. I consider it an impossible proceeding to threaten a rupture of international commercial treaties on such grounds. It would be an interesting question for the World Economic Conference to discuss whether international treaties could be canceled in this fashion. \* \* \*

In the negotiations over the Locarno treaties Italy sought to secure that frontier (the Brenner Pass), also through international agreements. We were asked what our attitude toward this would be. We replied that the query was wrongly addressed, since the Brenner Pass frontier was a question for Austria to decide and we had no intention of removing her right to self-determination. We are interested only in preventing insurmountable obstacles being placed in the way of unification of the German race.

Germany has no means of interfering directly in Southern Tyrol. Mussolini is quite right when he speaks of conditions there as a domestic matter. But Italy has the duty of protecting the minority there. If out of a policy of oppression there arises international danger, an appeal to the League of Nations is in order.

Particularly does Mussolini's speech raise this problem, a speech which throughout the world was interpreted as a threat of war against Austria or against Austria and Germany. Such threats are hard to reconcile with the spirit of the League. The tendency disclosed thereby forces Germany to a rapprochement with those nations whose policy is directed against a menace to European peace. This tendency must be combated within the League.

Dr. Stresemann also ironically regretted his inability to control the German press as the Fascist dictator controlled the Italian, and averred that the German Government had not thought of restricting free expression of editorial opinion. Mussolini, he indicated, quoted accurately the criticisms about Southern Tyrolean persecution voiced by Dr. Held, the Bavarian Premier. He added that in any event the Reich's foreign policy was not formulated by the head of the Bavarian State Government.

The debate that followed Dr. Stresemann's speech showed that none of the parties in the Reichstag wanted a rupture of relations with Italy or to increase the friction provoked by Mussolini's "pathological policy," as his attitude was generally called in Germany. At the close of the discussion, Paul Loebe, President of the Reichstag, read a declaration that was approved by all parties with the exception of the Communists.

The declaration read:

The German Reichstag vigorously rejects the Italian Prime Minister's objectively unjustifiable and insultingly phrased attacks and sneers. Throughout the whole world the judicial conception prevails that the fate of racially related minorities is followed with heartfelt sympathy by their mother nation and that their struggle for the preservation of their nationality invokes her support.

Although the German people desire nothing other than to promote their own restoration in peaceful cooperation with other peoples, they will not permit themselves to be hindered from demanding just treatment of German minorities under foreign sovereignty. Least of all through insulting sneers and senseless threats, from wherever they may come, shall we be deterred from the exercise of this right.

Mussolini returned to the attack on Feb. 10, when in the Senate he delivered a speech on the Tyrol question, in which he replied to Dr. Stresemann and repeated his warning to Germany. The Italian dictator's speech was in part as follows:

Stresemann's long and tortuous speech makes it necessary for me to make an immediate reply, which shall be clean and precise, like the speech I made in the Chamber last Saturday. That speech was not improvised; it was patient—I repeat, patiently—thought out during two months of ignoble anti-Italian uproar. \* \* \* Such a speech was necessary to clarify a situation that was becoming more and more troublesome and which would have resulted in events of exceptional gravity. The clarification itself was proof of the contrast between the full rights of the Italians and the absurd pretensions of the Germans.

I have had full need to declare that I confirm in the spirit and the letter my former speech, including the final allusion to the Tricolor on the Brennero, which Stresemann can interpret as he will, but which Italians interpret in the sense that Italy will never submit to the violation of treaties of peace which guarantee their frontiers conquered at such a heavy price of blood.

Moreover, Stresemann did nothing in his speech but confirm all the essential points of my address. Has he denied my assertion that Italy in the post-war period has followed a moderate policy toward Germany? No, because he could not. Has he denied the existence of a German press campaign, which for several months has passed the elementary limits of decency, speaking anti-Italian lies and offending institutions and sentiments most dear to the heart of Italians? No, because that campaign of the press was organized, and acclaimed also in the Government journals and in the *Taegliche Rundschau*, which is rightly considered the organ of the German Minister of Foreign Affairs. Has he denied that a campaign has been set afoot for a commercial and tourist boycott of Italy? No, because that campaign was begun and continued and made more intense, as I have had information this very morning.

Stresemann would like to minimize the importance of this campaign and make it appear the work of small groups of irresponsibles. Does he not know that propaganda for an anti-Italian boycott in Bavaria was carried on in the universities, in the postoffices, in the public markets, on the trains? Does he not know also that a surveillance committee for carrying out this boycott included a Liberal Deputy, an inspector of schools, two university professors and a former Minister of Justice? Does he not know that on Jan. 29 some Deputies of the People's Party in the Prussian Diet proposed that all private Italian schools in Prussia be closed?

Stresemann said no word in regard to that part of any of my speech in which I alluded to the absurd projects cherished by Pan-German leaders in June, 1918, when, having false confidence in victory, they met at Viterbo in the Upper Adige and demanded not merely that the German frontier extend to Salorno (in the Trentino) but to the seven communes to Desengana, to Peschiera, to Chiusa di Verona, with the idea of denationalizing these territories. I declare with accurate knowledge of the facts, that among vast groups of the German people there has been no definite renunciation of these foolish dreams, even if the German Government today limits itself to simple claims of a cultural order, which nevertheless are incompatible with full exercise of Italian sovereignty.

Stresemann did not say one word in reply to my statement that though millions of Germans were annexed by other countries, it was only against the Upper Adige that there had been launched an agitation based on notorious lies. Was it not yesterday that the Prague Government by decree imposed upon all citizens of the Czech Republic, of which 3,500,000 are German-speaking, the compulsory use of the Czech language in all Government business?

The German Foreign Minister finally defends

by very weak arguments the unheard-of statement of Bavarian Premier Held. Extensive sophistications and pitiable mystifications only augment its exceptional gravity. It is not sufficient to say that the German foreign policy is made in Berlin and not in Munich.

The Fascist Government proposed in the first three years a policy of indulgence, but it had vigorously to change this attitude when it observed in the Spring of 1925 the enormous dangers to which it could expose the Italian people in the more or less immediate future.

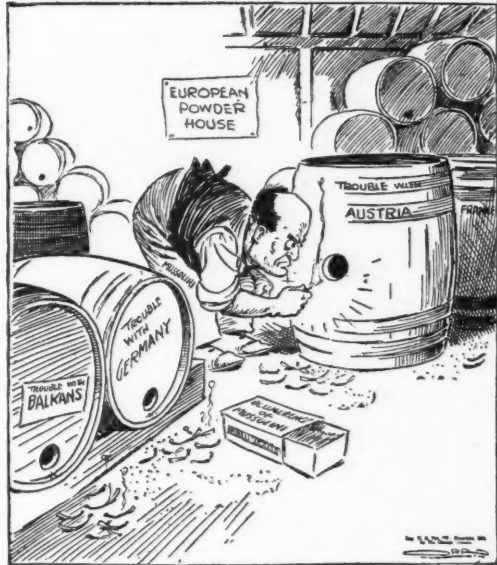
But there is in Stresemann's speech one statement which I deny in the most formal manner—namely, that the Italian Government had solicited a supplementary security pact guaranteeing the Brenner frontier. The truth is to the contrary. The Italian Government not only did not solicit but rejected all positive suggestions in that matter before and during the Locarno conference, convinced as it is that the present state of guarantee, the most solid guarantee, of the Brenner frontier, lies in the moral and material force of the Italian people.

With respect to a German boycott Mussolini asked who could question that the Italian people would accept passively such a boycott of merchandise and products and let German goods enter free. He declared that Italy could live very well now, as in the future, even if not one German should cross the Alps into Italy. Replying to the charges that Germans had been treated brutally, Mussolini continued:

It is false that in the Upper Adige violence and terror reign, as has been said by Dr. Held, and repeated by Stresemann feebly. That the German newspapers have lied is demonstrated by the statements of teachers, hotel men and war veterans living in the Upper Adige, who have, without any pressure, manifested their sympathy toward the Italian Government. I repeat, our policy in the Upper Adige is a policy which I call "Roman equity." It will be continued in those territories which, with much audacity, the Germans want to enclose in a circle of German culture. For us, the Upper Adige is and will remain always, politically, historically, geographically, economically and morally, an Italian domain. \* \* \* It is unquestionable that if the Austro-Germans had won all that which is Italian today they would have brutally suppressed it from the Brenner Pass to Lake Garda. \* \* \*

Germany intends to assume, without and within, spiritual tutelage of all the Germans in the world, as well as of these few in the Upper Adige, who even before the war did not belong to the Reich. I declare in the most explicit manner:

First—That the alien population of the Upper



LOOKING FOR TROUBLE

—Chicago Sunday Tribune

Adige is outside of those minorities who were the object of special accord in the peace treaties.

Second—That Italy will not engage in any discussion of that matter by any Assembly or Council, and because of that, the action of the Tyrol Diet (for intervention by the League of Nations) is useless.

Third—That the Fascist Government will react with the greatest energy against all plans of such a nature, because it would consider itself guilty of the crime of treason if for 100,000 Germans who made a descent on Italian soil it should compromise the peace and security of 42,000,000 Italians, who surely form a national bloc, the most homogeneous and compact existing in Europe.

These, my keynotes, are not threats, by which dilemmas may arise, but are declarations of dignity and force, which facts can never be denied.

The Chamber of Deputies held its first sitting after the Christmas recess on Jan. 16. The session was devoted to a commemoration of Queen Margherita, but its solemnity was marred by a stormy ending, caused by the presence of a section of the secessionists who took advantage of the special character of the session to re-enter the Chamber. This so-called Aventine opposition withdrew immediately after the murder of the Socialist Deputy, Matteotti, in June, 1924, declaring that they would not return to it so long as Fascism remained in power, especially as there was a "moral

question" involved. In other words, they accused Mussolini of being implicated. Their presence therefore at this session was regarded by Mussolini as a direct challenge, and as soon as the speeches in honor of Queen Margherita were finished he proposed that instead of adjourning as a sign of mourning for the dead Queen, as had been moved, the Chamber hold a special session the next day for the settlement of this "moral question." Despite the objection that such a session would give to the Aventine an importance which it did not deserve, the motion was carried almost unanimously. Meanwhile the Fascist Deputies rushed at such of the Aventine Deputies as had not already fled and violently ejected them from the building.

As the Aventine opposition failed to appear at the special session the next day to formulate their accusations against Premier Mussolini, he was the only speaker. After stigmatizing the return of the Opposition as an attempt to "sneak into" Parliament, he declared that the Aventines could hope to return to the Chamber only by fulfilling the following conditions:

First, they must clearly, publicly and unreservedly accept the Fascist revolution as an accomplished fact which has now become the new régime, profoundly changing the Italian Constitution and rendering opposition for the mere sake of opposition "politically useless and historically absurd." The only understandable opposition is the opposition by constitutional parties.

Secondly, they must no less clearly and unreservedly acknowledge that "their nefarious and scandalous campaign of falsehood has ignominiously failed, as a moral question never existed against the Fascist Government or the Fascist Party."

Thirdly, they must equally clearly and unreservedly separate their responsibility "from those persons who, across the frontiers of Italy, continue their anti-Fascist agitation."

"I solemnly promise," Mussolini concluded, "that unless these conditions have been fulfilled, I shall never, as long as I remain in this post—and I expect to remain here a very long time—permit the Aventine Opposition to set foot again inside this hall." After this special session, which resulted in an ovation for Mussolini, the regular sessions were devoted largely to discussion of the Locarno pacts.

Another attack on parliamentary insti-

tutions was made by Mussolini in an interview published in the *Paris Eclair*:

Parliamentarianism, such as we know it today, is done. It is suffering from gangrene, it is dying from a sort of Bright's disease. At the beginning parliamentarism had some excuse for existing when England was a country of 15,000,000 inhabitants and when among the great families several hundred men could represent a people without great needs and without great economic or political activity.

But if I tried or was willing to submit to Parliament all the projects I have I would have to make it sit every day for twenty hours a day all year long. The chief of Government, with the responsibilities he bears, ought to have absolute power and to answer only to the King.

In line with this and similar utterances, a further increase in Mussolini's power was made by the decree of the King announced on Jan. 14, by which his provisional control of the departments of the Army, Navy and Air was made permanent. His official title is now "Head of the Government" instead of "President of the Council of Ministers." His supporters declared that this permanent assumption of these offices was not only a step toward greater and more efficient co-ordination of the administration, but also the sign and seal of his overwhelming success.

The relation of the Fascist régime to the Vatican was brought into active discussion by the publication of a report of a commission appointed by the Government to study the reform of ecclesiastical legislation. The present basis of the legislation which regulates the relation between the Quirinal and the Vatican is the law of Papal Guarantees of 1871. By this law the Pope was to be accorded sovereign rights equal to those of the King of Italy. Although the Papacy has lived under that régime ever since 1871, it has done so under constant protest, on the ground that it was in the nature of a simple law of the Italian Kingdom rather than of an international agreement, and that its acceptance would involve papal recognition of a Government which had despoiled the Papacy of its rights. The most important points in the suggested reform were the nomination of Bishops by the Holy See and the juridical recognition of properly constituted religious congregations. This was



admitted by the *Osservatore Romano*, the organ of the Vatican, to be an improvement, but according to that journal it did not go far enough, and was the work of the Government alone. Such a statement, the Government newspaper organs declared, was incorrect, as the committee which prepared the bill included high church authorities. It was also alleged that the *Osservatore* was following an independent policy contrary to the Pope's own wishes in its opposition to Fascism, and that in this attitude it was inspired by Cardinal Gasparri, the Papal Secretary of State. On this account the latter was bitterly attacked in certain Fascist papers. However, in a recent letter to Cardinal Gasparri, the Pope took occasion to state explicitly that the Cardinal was his authorized and faithful interpreter—a statement which under the circumstances was equivalent to an endorsement of the posi-

tion taken by the *Osservatore* against the Government and an evidence that the whole Church-State issue—the so-called Roman question—was still unsettled.

The Senate on Jan. 25 adopted the measure recently approved by the Chamber empowering the Government to punish by deprivation of citizenship and confiscation of property Italians abroad who were acting against the interests of the nation. The reporter of the bill declared that it was not the intention of the Government to use the law as a measure of persecution, but to apply it with prudence and moderation.

Rigid censorship of the press continued, with the result that some of the Opposition papers disappeared entirely; others were being sequestered almost daily and then left alone for a time, while still others were in the hands of comparatively little known journalists who refrained from all direct political comment.

[EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BALKANS]

## Amnesty for 7,000 Political Prisoners in Bulgaria

*Pangalos Advocates Balkan Peace Pact—Tumultuous Session in Hungarian Parliament Over Banknote Scandal—Rumania Bans Press Discussion of Crown Prince's Renunciation*

By FREDERIC A. OGG

Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin

### Bulgaria

**A**N amnesty bill covering a total of 7,000 political offenders passed its third reading in Parliament on Feb. 5. Practically all exiles are amnestied, except the Communist Agrarian leaders "who fled from Bulgaria and are still working for the overthrow of the present régime."

The new Liaptschev Ministry has declared its intention to cultivate friendly relations with foreign States, particularly Greece.

Former Premier Tsankov has been elected President of the Sobranie in the place of M. Kulev, now Minister of Justice.

### Czechoslovakia

**T**HE economic situation of Czechoslovakia is well in advance of that of neighboring countries. The currency has been stabilized by law in relation to the dollar, with a small margin for oscillation; the metallic and foreign exchange reserves in possession of the bank office are on the increase; the competitive capacity of industries is growing; and the employment situation in them has greatly improved.

Negotiations for commercial treaties with Poland were resumed on Jan. 11, and it was expected that the agreements would be ready for ratification at an early date. In Poland there was much discussion of

a Czechoslovak-Polish customs union. In Czechoslovakia this question has not advanced beyond the speculative stage; but the tendency of the two States, which not so long ago were unpleasantly close to open hostility, to draw together in a closer economic relation is a subject of much approving comment.

Among bills in preparation for consideration by the new Parliament upon its meeting in February was one providing a higher scale of pay for civil servants. The present Ministry is pledged to carry out the promises of its predecessor on this subject, even though the cost would reach some 7,000,000 crowns.

With the support of the Government, engineers have completed plans for the construction of a large artificial lake for the irrigation of barren regions in North-eastern Bohemia. Several villages of peasant landowners will be expropriated in connection with the scheme, and arrangements have already been made to settle them on land in other localities taken over under the Land Reform act.

## Greece

THE imperialistic pronouncements with which Premier Pangalos assumed his military dictatorship in the first week of January were offset in succeeding weeks by strong expressions of desire for a new basis of peace throughout the Balkan world. Adverting to the fact that the Greek people had experienced ten years of war, from 1913 to 1922, he declared that the country's supreme need was peace; and as early as the middle of January he was talking in terms of a Balkan pact, modeled on the Locarno agreements—an arrangement to include Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Turkey, and perhaps later Rumania.

While the question of the funding of the Greek debt to the United States was being discussed in Washington, the Pangalos Government cut the Gordian knot in its financial difficulties by a decree, issued Jan. 23, reducing the nominal value of banknotes in circulation by 25 per cent. except in the case of money deposited

in banks and notes in circulation amounting to 25 drachmas and under. Henceforth all notes above that amount were to be cut into two unequal parts, the larger being worth three-quarters of the original value, and the smaller constituting a share in the new forced loan, bearing interest at 6 per cent. The step was taken with great suddenness, and created a distinct sensation; although it had precedent in the Protopapadokis loan of 1922, which was a success. The decree stated that no part of the proceeds of the new loan would be expended on armaments. The total amount of the loan thus floated was computed at 1,250,000 drachmas. Foreigners residing in Greece were not exempted, as they were in 1922.

At a dinner on Jan. 29 in honor of the departing Greek Debt Commission it became known that American, British, Belgian and Greek capital was

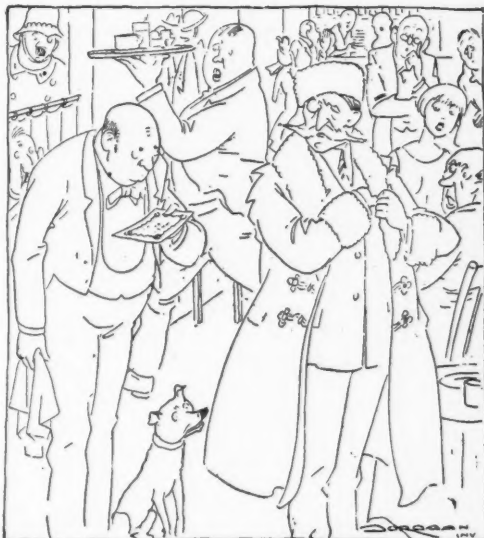


THE BALKAN CIRCUS  
—Kansas City Times

about to embark on a vast reconstruction and improvement program in Greece, involving the expenditure of approximately \$100,000,000. The proposed work includes the drainage and reclamation of thousands of square miles of land in Macedonia, a housing program calling for the building of 4,000 dwellings in Athens, the building of 250 kilometers of railroad, and construction of an electric light plant and a water-works plant in Athens. Contracts for part of the undertaking are said to have been signed.

## Hungary

**F**RENCH police agents, somewhat feebly supported by Hungarian authorities, brought to light in early January many amazing facts concerning the counterfeiting of French banknotes at Budapest, and on Feb. 1 a voluminous official bill of indictment against twenty-six men (all but five of whom were under arrest) was published. It was believed that the plot had been almost completely laid bare. Corroborating confessions by Prince Ludwig Windisch-Graetz and others established the fact that the Prince was the ringleader and that Dr. Nadossy, Chief of the State Police, was a main lieutenant. According to the confessions, the primary object was revenge upon France for the treaty of Trianon; but it was also admitted that the



THE MIRACLE

The Hungarian with a genuine banknote.  
—*De Notenkraaker*, Amsterdam

Prince, at all events, hoped to recoup his losses due to gambling and bad crops.

Discovery of the plot roused intense interest throughout Central Europe, and progressive revelations brought Hungarian politics to the boiling point. All the known conspirators are Legitimists, and it was widely believed that their ultimate purpose was to create a situation that would eventuate in the downfall of Regent Horthy and the seating of a Habsburg on the throne. While the excitement was at its height Archduke Joseph, head of the Hungarian line of Habsburgs, gave an interview to an American newspaper correspondent declaring that Hungary must again be a monarchy, even though a democratic one; and though he was not suspected of any connection with the counterfeiting affair, the pronouncement afforded added ground for anti-monarchist apprehension.

Parliament, which reopened on Jan. 19, had a series of tumultuous sittings, in the course of which the Government in general, and Premier Bethlen in particular, were bitterly denounced for laxness in dealing with the counterfeiting scandal. It was charged, and pretty well demonstrated, that the Premier knew of the existence of the counterfeiting nearly a month before



HUNGARY'S AMATEUR CRIMINALS

Professional: "You see that such people do not understand anything except politics."—*Bertlingske Tidende*, Copenhagen.

any arrests were made, and though it was admitted that he had taken some steps to



PRINCE  
WINDISCHGRAETZ

investigate the plot and prevent it from being carried out, it was argued that his measures were far from commensurate with the gravity of the situation. Ignoring repeated demands in Parliament that he resign, the Premier pointedly warned the Opposition that if its obstructionist tactics were persisted in he

would not be responsible for the consequences, among which, he broadly intimated, was to be included military intervention.

## Poland

AT the request of the Polish Government, Professor E. W. Kemmerer, American financial expert, made a survey during January of the financial and economic situation in Poland and, returning to the United States on Jan. 20, was able to give out an optimistic report. The underlying conditions of the Polish situation were found to be sound, and the present financial depression largely a product of psychological causes, especially the Polish people's lack of confidence in their own finances. It was possible to show that the decline of the zloty to the low level reached on Dec. 16 had been checked by Government measures, especially restrictions on dealing in foreign exchange, measures against speculation, banking supervision and construction of a balanced budget for 1926; and the drastic reduction of expenditures, the discouragement of the importation and home consumption of luxuries, and the cessation

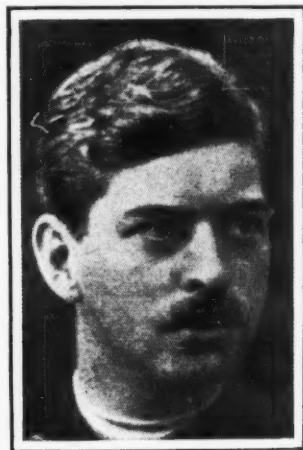
of issues of paper money were warmly commended.

Drastic reduction of the present army of some 300,000 officers and men was called for by the Socialist and other radical elements, as well as by some of the peasants and industrialists, as one of the steps necessary for the actual balancing of the budget and full restoration of financial stability. The proponents of a heavy cut in the armed forces argued that Poland no longer needs so large an establishment, as relations with Russia had improved so much that there was no longer any serious menace from the East and the spirit of Locarno ought to hover over the German-Polish frontier and take the place of large bodies of troops. Opponents of the plan insisted that the Bolshevik danger was still real, and they also pointed to the 350,000 unemployed men in the country and asked what the discharged soldiers are to do for a living.

A new chapter in the history of agrarian reform in the republic was opened with the passing of a new land reform act by the Diet on Dec. 28, 1925, under which machinery is set up for the parcellation of large landed properties. The new law provides for the distribution of 200,000 hectares a year during a period of ten years. The greatest permissible holding is fixed at 60 hectares in industrial centres and near large cities, and 180 hectares elsewhere, except in the Eastern Provinces, where holdings will be 300 hectares.

## Rumania

IN Government circles at Bucharest it continued to be denied that Crown Prince Carol's renunciation of the succession had any political significance. Few people believed, however, that this was quite true, although no one knew which of the multifold rumors purporting to explain what happened was the closest approximation to fact. Early in January the Government established a rigid censorship through-



PRINCE CAROL OF  
RUMANIA



out the country, forbidding newspapers to discuss the subject. Owners of ten papers jointly protested against the ban as being unconstitutional and threatened to suspend publication unless it was removed.

Meanwhile it became known that, while one faction in Government circles considered King Ferdinand not too old and feeble to continue on the throne, another element would like to force his retirement, placing the Government in charge of a regency. Carol remained in Milan, while popular demonstrations in his behalf among Rumanians were reported by way of Bulgaria.

The Government on Jan. 24 announced that Parliament would be dissolved on April 3. In accordance with the Constitution, there must be a general election within two months of the dissolution.

The Official Gazette on Jan. 14 published a decree recalling Prince Antoine Bibesco as Minister to the United States. He was at the time in Rumania, but subsequently came to Washington to present his letters of recall to President Coolidge. Various rumors ascribing his recall to the unfriendly attitude of M. Titulesco and to Princess Bibesco's criticisms of Americans were officially denied. M. Djuvara, counselor of the Rumanian legation in London, was designated Chargé d'Affaires at Washington, while Prince Bibesco himself became attached to the Foreign Office at Bucharest.

## Yugoslavia

**T**HE discovery of an alleged Communist plot to overthrow the Government led to the arrest, on Jan. 21, of more than two hundred suspects. Crowds of workmen gathering in front of the National Assembly Building were dispersed by mounted troops, and an edict from the Ministry of the Interior announced that all unions were to be broken up as being illegal. A student strike of considerable proportions took place at the Zagreb (Agram) University at the same time, on the alleged ground of the forced retirement of certain profes-



L'Illustration

Princess Helen of Greece, wife of Prince Carol of Rumania, photographed with their son, Prince Michael, who became heir to the Rumanian throne on Prince Carol's renunciation of his right to become King

sors belonging to the Independent Democratic Party.

It was rumored during the month that Premier Pashitch, who is 80 years old and not in good health, felt unequal to the strain of remaining in office and was about to resign. Among persons mentioned as possible successor were M. Trifkovich, President of the National Assembly, and M. Ninchitch, the Foreign Minister.

Members of the Croatian Union Party and dissatisfied adherents of M. Raditch's party, meeting at Zagreb on Jan. 10, formed an organization which will be known as the Federal Peasant Party. The Central Committee of the new party, which is monarchist, is composed of eighty-two members, under the Presidency of M. Lorkovitch.

[RUSSIA]

## Zinoviev and Kamenev Discredited in Soviet Councils

*Land for Peasants in Tambov Province—Machinery Being Procured by Government for Farmers—Sale of Czarist Crown Jewels Considered to Raise Necessary Funds*

By ARTHUR B. DARLING

Assistant Professor of History, Yale University

REVERBERATIONS of the clash between moderates and extremists in the Congress of the Communist Party during the last weeks of December were still heard throughout January. The Party's Central Executive Committee, of which Stalin is Secretary, ignored the Third International, of which Zinoviev is head and through which communications are usually held with Communists in the outside world, to send a circular letter directly to the Communist parties of Great Britain, France, Italy and elsewhere, asking them to refrain from discussing the dissensions within the Communist Party of Russia. The Executive Committee wished to convey the impression that there was but a temporary disagreement over the new economic policy in Russia, and it would seem, also, to discredit Zinoviev.

Through its Russian correspondent, the London *Times* learned that Kalinin and Voroshilov, new War Commissar and supporter of Stalin, had undertaken to reconstruct the Communist organization in Leningrad, Zinoviev's stronghold and center of the opposition to the policies of Stalin and the moderates, now in control of the Political Bureau, of the Central Executive Committee, and through them, of the Soviet Government. Under such pressure, some groups in the district of Leningrad passed resolutions to recant and to seek reconciliation with the majority about Stalin. It was said in Moscow that Bukharin had given this warning to Zinoviev, Kamenev, and their supporters: "The Bolshevik Party has no rules forbidding the stopping up of other people's mouths when it is expedient." There were rumors that Zinoviev had been ordered not to go to Leningrad, that he had been accused of

questionable transactions, that some of his specially favored friends and relatives had been summarily dismissed from their posts at the direction of the Central Executive Committee. How many of these reports are based on actual fact we are not yet able to determine. But it seems clear that Zinoviev and Kamenev are sharply at odds with Stalin, Trotsky, and their supporters and that Zinoviev and Kamenev are now in a minority. It is equally certain that developments in the policies of the Soviet Government through the past year have been in the direction of State capitalism.

According to *Pravda*, Communist organ, the peasants have so successfully boycotted "Soviet farms" in the province of Tambov that more than 500 such estates, comprising 300,000 acres with live stock, have been given back by the Government to the peasants. The Government seems to have turned its energies from attempts at Communistic farming to the task of providing agricultural machinery for the farming population. The Ford Company announced on Jan. 26 that it had shipped 10,000 tractors from Detroit via Seattle and Vladivostok to the Soviet Government. Three-quarters of the payment was made in cash. The remainder was to be paid in ten months. As security, title remained with the Ford Company to the part of the shipment for which payment had not yet been made. *Izvestia*, on the same day, announced in Moscow that the Government's factory in Pskov was manufacturing plows at the rate of 130 a day. But the Government was severely handicapped in such endeavors because it lacked ready money. It had not been able to secure adequate loans from foreign countries. It had not been able this year to carry out its plan

to obtain a cash balance by exporting grain. There was good reason to believe that the sale of the Russian crown jewels to American and European jewelers, so often reported in the past, was actually under serious consideration. A high official of the Soviet Government remarked to a representative of the Associated Press on Jan. 31: "We want to turn the glitter of our 25,000 carats of diamonds into the glitter of American steel. These magnificent jewels were bought by Russia's former tyrants with the sweat, toil and trial of our peasants; we desire now to give them back to the peasants in the form of implements to till the ground and machinery for industries." It was estimated by a group of experts that the jewels which will be offered for sale are worth about \$264,000,000—little more than the principal and interest of the Russian debt to the Government of the United States. Obviously, when the Soviet authorities talk of selling the imperial treasures of Russia they are not thinking of debts to the United States but of political potentialities in the peasant population of Russia. The Communists at Moscow had reason to ponder over a report from Minsk on Feb. 2 that Zionist farmers and prosperous Christian peasants had joined forces in the local election there for the first time against regular Communist candidates and in some villages had won control of the Soviets, in others had made considerable gains. If the peasants are permitted to have a real voice in local Soviets, it behooves those who wish to stay in power at Moscow to make themselves acceptable to the peasantry.

Whatever may be their luck in winning the support of the peasantry, the present rulers of Russia have no intention of giving an opportunity to Czarists to regain control. The Provincial Court at Moscow on Jan. 10 sentenced to death one Alexander Nikulin who had confessed that he had betrayed many revolutionists to the Czarist Government. The police in Odessa announced on Jan. 19 that a counter-revolutionary plot had been discovered and that many former officers of the Czarist army had been arrested. On Feb. 2, forty-eight alleged Estonian spies, six former



BUT THE VAN IS ALWAYS AT THE DOOR  
—San Francisco Chronicle

Czarist officers, a priest, and four women were brought to trial in Leningrad under the charge of plotting against the Soviet Government.

Instructions were issued for examination and registration of all reserve officers of the Red Army during the next two months, to ascertain the military strength of the Soviet Union. The orders applied to administrative, medical and veterinary officials liable to military service, as well as to military men. The Commissariat of Education announced a decree requiring students in institutions of higher education to take a course in military science and to attend military camps a part of each summer.

General Vladimir Soukominov, who was Russia's Minister of War from 1909 through the first year of the World War, died in Berlin on Feb. 2. He was arrested in May, 1916, on the charge that he had caused the breakdown of the Russian Army by interfering with the production of munitions and by intriguing with German agents. He was convicted in September, 1917, but escaped to Finland and from there made his way to Germany.

## NATIONS OF NORTHERN EUROPE

### Finland

A NEW Cabinet was formed on Dec. 31, after the resignation of the Ministry of Tulenheimo. M. Kallio, leader of the Agrarian Party, became Prime Minister; M. Setälä took the portfolio of Foreign Affairs; M. Hjelmmann became Minister of Defense. The Coalition Party and the Agrarian Party have six members each in the new Administration.

It was reported from Helsingfors on Jan. 18 that the Social Democrats, who represent a large part of the working class in Finland, had broken off relations with the Communists.

### Latvia

THE trial of 19 Communists charged with conspiracy against the existing order ended on Jan. 12. All were found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment and hard labor for terms ranging from 32 months to six years.

The murder of a Soviet courier on a train in Latvia on Feb. 5 brought a sharp note from the Soviet Government. The

Latvia Government officially expressed regrets, stating that the murder was the work of bandits, who would be prosecuted.

### Lithuania

TCHITCHERIN, Russian Commissar of Foreign Affairs, made a formal visit to Kaunas (Kovno) on Dec. 24. The Lithuanian official organ, *Lietuva*, found great significance in certain utterances from the lips of Tchitcherin. He declared that the Soviet Union would not recognize either the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors on March 14, 1923, or any other regulation of the Vilna question to which Lithuania did not consent. He said that Russia was not entirely uninterested in the controversy over Vilna, notwithstanding assertions emanating from Polish sources to the contrary. He professed to believe that an independent Lithuania was indispensable to the political equilibrium and peace of Europe. He said that the Soviet Union was not distressed by the thought of an alliance of Baltic States for their own self-defense, but only by the possibility of an alliance under the leadership of Poland.

A. B. D.

[OTHER NATIONS OF EUROPE]

## Spanish Government's Regulation Policy

*Portugal Quells Revolution—Doorn Guard Doubled by Holland After Hohenzollern Reunion—Norwegian Parliament Convenes—Swedish Budget Before Riksdag*

By JOHN MARTIN VINCENT

Professor of European History, Johns Hopkins University

REGULATION continued to be the policy of the Spanish Government. It was announced in an official note on Jan. 6 that Cabinet Ministers could not accept the presidency of local or provincial branches of the governmental political party, the Union Patriótica. This step was taken, it was explained, in order that the Ministers might remain absolutely impartial and serve only the general interests of the country. The

note further expounded the official theory of the political situation as follows:

If the present Government is not actually a Cabinet of specialists, it is something very similar, and the political ideas of each member have been easily and finely molded into a general doctrine, both as concerns the homogeneity of the essential principles which unite them and in a unanimous appreciation of the circumstances and the means which have brought them to the service of King and country.

The Government may remain in power only a



few months or for many years. Everything depends as to whether it governs well or badly, as the country, which is reflective and wise, does not like tactics and episodal politics, but rather desires perseverance and readiness in so important a function. Nor has the King ever wished to do more than to succeed in his choice of those Ministers who can best serve the country.

With regard to the new application of the policy of regulation, observers pointed out that such business-like limitation of the activities of Ministers would prevent the building up of personal cliques or political groups which might prove troublesome to the Government.

It was announced that salesmanship also would be conducted under Government regulation. A union of traveling salesmen was formed in Madrid by royal decree. All commercial travelers representing business houses were to be banded together in a guild, and the movement was said to have been hailed with enthusiasm by the "drummers" themselves.

A new plan for the promotion of industrial production was announced. The Spanish Government has created a decoration for workers to be known as the "Labor Medal." This will be given to employes and employers who do most to increase the national production. An impressive design in gold, silver and bronze has been worked out and possessors of medals will have the right to send a child to one of the Spanish universities, the Government paying the entire cost.

A significant statement with respect to the future of the Government was reported from Prime Minister Primo de Rivera, who returned from Andalusia to Madrid on Jan. 19. It was said that on passing through Cordoba General de Rivera declared to the Mayor, who had gone to the railway station to salute him, that the present Government would remain in office for another four years, during which period Parliament would remain closed.

The Ministry of Public Works laid before the Cabinet its plans for the immediate and rapid construction of new lines of railway. It was stated that plans already existed for the majority of these lines, and the Government intended to start construction without delay. In all it is proposed to complete 1,000 miles of new line in six years.

In connection with the reorganization of the Civil Government three important fiscal measures were decreed: First, landholders must declare the net returns from their property; second, merchants and industrialists must keep a special book giving their sales and operations, and third, leases must be registered.

The Government announced that the Official Gazette, the Government publication, would be converted into a newspaper, and would be published every Monday morning.

The world at large has followed with interest the flight of Commander Franco from Spain to South America, and has rejoiced in his success. In Spain, however, the people were thrown into a frenzy of enthusiasm by this exploit of their fellow countryman. Virtually every town in the nation sent special greeting to South America through the aviators, and thousands of persons journeyed to the Huelva, the starting point of the expedition.

## Portugal

ANOTHER of Portugal's sporadic revolutions occurred on Feb. 2, when an insurgent movement broke out under the direction of Major Laoerda Almeida, of the gunnery school at Vendas Novas. At the time of the outbreak President Machado was absent from Lisbon on a visit to the northern section; the Ministers of Marine and Foreign Affairs, however, took effective measures to put down the revolt. The revolutionists capitulated when they failed to receive the support that insurgent bodies had promised them.

The Portuguese Government has not yet overcome all its financial difficulties. In the budget for the year 1926-27, as presented on Jan. 15, a deficit equivalent to \$4,250,000 was anticipated.

There were several new developments in the scandal in connection with the Bank of Angola. Among those accused of forgery of notes was Dr. Rumo Simoes, former Minister of Commerce in the Fereira Cabinet, who was arrested on Jan. 12. Eleven persons had been taken into custody previously in the case. On Jan. 21 the Venezuelan Minister in London arrived in Lisbon in connection with the investigation. It was stated that the Portuguese cruiser

squadron in the South Atlantic had received urgent orders to proceed to Loanda, and that the High Commissioner of Angola had been ordered to return to Lisbon to confer with the Government on the situation in Angola.

## Holland

THE abolition of the visa between Germany and the Netherlands took effect on Feb. 1, and, profiting by this, former Crown Prince William of Germany promptly arrived at Doorn and passed through the village to his father's château. Father and son had not seen each other for two years, but now a complete reconciliation has been brought about. The people of Holland were touched by the meeting. In order to prevent trouble, domestic or international, however, the Government of the Netherlands ordered that the police guard about the château be doubled.

Arrangements were being made for co-operation between the American scientific expedition headed by Professor Matthew Stirling of Berkeley, Cal., and a Dutch committee of scientific workers.

Under the tentative plans, a Dutch explorer would accompany the Americans in their exploration of Dutch Guinea and a military escort would be provided for their protection. The purpose of the Stirling expedition is to study the pigmies and other unknown tribes of hitherto unexplored regions of New Guinea.

Holland and her colonies on Feb. 7 celebrated the silver wedding of Queen Wilhelmina and her consort, Prince Henry.

## Norway

THE King of Norway opened the Parliament (Storting) on Jan. 12 with the usual formalities. In his speech from the throne he announced that the negotiations with Great Britain in regard to coast fisheries and trawling had so far been without result.

The Norwegian Government, pursuing the announced plan for the reduction of military expenditures, presented an army budget for 1926 amounting to 32,000,000 kronen, or 2,000,000 less than that of 1925. Sharp reductions in the military organization were proposed and it was also recom-

mended that several fortifications be razed. The period of recruit instruction was not changed by this proposal, but only two-thirds of the eligible recruits would be called out at one time. Appropriations for army aviation were somewhat larger.

## Sweden

THE 1926 session of the Swedish Riksdag opened on Jan. 12 and the Minister of Finance officially submitted his budget plan for the coming year to the Riksdag. The proposed expenses totaled 738,154,300 kronor, or 25,000,000 kronor more than in the 1925 budget. The saving due to result from the reduction in the national defense was calculated at only 8,000,000 kronor, considerably less than was expected. Offsetting this saving the proposed expenses for the Government Social Department were increased by more than 10,000,000 kronor; this figure included 3,000,000 kronor for the relief of unemployment. In spite of the increased expenditure the Government proposed that the direct and indirect tax burden be reduced by about 25,000,000 kronor, which would be accomplished by lowering the index regulating Government taxation from 170 to 160 and by reducing the taxes on coffee and sugar.

Among the interesting points in the budget plan was the proposal to considerably reduce the tax burden of the Nobel Foundation which the Minister of Finance characterized as "out of all reason." The Minister also proposed an immediate refund to the Foundation of a considerable part of the tax payable for 1926 and for this purpose requested a special appropriation of 275,000 kronor. The measure if enacted would mean a material increase in the sums of future Nobel Prizes.

Admiral Lindman, on behalf of the Agrarian and Conservative parties introduced a bill in the Second Chamber proposing a thorough investigation of Sweden's military requirements for defense from a strategic point of view and in case of war. The bill also provided for a postponement in the execution of the decision of the previous Riksdag calling for immediate reduction of armaments. The Admiral argued in support of his bill

that in spite of the League of Nations and the Locarno Treaty the possibility of international conflict still remained, and he reminded the Riksdag of the fact that Russia now was proportionately stronger from a military point of view than before the war.

Late reports on the economic status of Sweden brought some interesting and encouraging features. The leading business weekly "Affärsvärlden" (Business World) in a résumé of Sweden's progress during the last twenty-five years stated that "the country has become richer, every individual more comfortable, living conditions tremendously improved, while the hours of labor have been shortened." Several instances were cited: Sweden's merchant fleet a quarter of a century ago was half made up of sailing vessels and the country had no transatlantic lines. Today direct Swedish lines run to all continents and the Swedish merchant marine is now further motorized than that of any other country. Of the country's water power, twenty-five years ago only about 222,000 horsepower were used for direct propulsion, while today the hydroelectric energy has increased to over 1,400,000 horsepower. In 1900 the public debt was placed almost wholly abroad, whereas now it is held nearly altogether at home, and in 1925 it was reduced by 10,000,000 kronor. It was pointed out finally, that despite steady emigration the population had increased from 5,136,000 to about 6,005,000.

The steady progress in Sweden's foreign trade during 1925 was illustrated by the official statistics, which showed that the trade balance had improved by 50 per cent.

Sweden has now completed her work for "outlawing war" with her Scandinavian neighbors through the signature of unlimited arbitration treaties with Denmark



Per Albin Hansson, Swedish Minister of National Defense and successor to Hjalmar Branting as leader of the Swedish Social Democratic Party

and Finland in addition to a similar treaty signed with Norway last year.

Sweden has appointed a new envoy to the United States to succeed Captain Axel F. Wallenberg, who resigned on Feb. 1 after holding his post for over four years; Count Wallenberg won great popularity both in Swedish and American circles. Wollmar F. Bostrom, one of Sweden's ablest and most experienced diplomats, has accepted the post as Count Wallenberg's successor. Minister Bostrom, who has held a number of important posts in the Swedish foreign service, was instructed to proceed to America from Madrid, where he held the post of Swedish Minister Plenipotentiary. The new Minister to the United States arrived at New York on Feb. 10; he was welcomed by a distinguished party of Swedish Americans.

Sweden's calendar for the future includes two international events of importance, according to plans recently made public: An international conference of missionary leaders from all parts of the world will be held on July 17 to 26, 1926, at Raetvik on the idyllic coast of Lake Siljan in Dalecarlia; special Olympic Games for women will take place in Gothenburg in 1928. The National Swedish Women's Athletic Union decided in favor of the games following a request received from "La Fédération Sportive Féminine Internationale."

## Switzerland

**D**IPLOMATIC relations between Switzerland and Russia have been strained for some time, but the Swiss Federal Council has taken the matter under discussion. Meanwhile public opinion in Switzerland was much wrought up by the offensive acts and speeches of the Soviet officials. In Geneva on Feb. 5 a mass meeting entered protest against the arrogant attitude of the Russians. It was charged at the meeting that the Soviets had pillaged the Swiss Legation in Petrograd, and had assassinated, robbed and expelled thousands of Swiss citizens without expressing either regret or excuse. The meeting adopted a resolution asking the Swiss Government to uphold Swiss dignity and honor in the negotiations with Moscow.

The Swiss Government has manifested its desire to live on good terms with Italy. The Federal Council on Jan. 5 issued an order to Signor Angelo Tonello, an Italian subject, who is editor of the *Libera Stampa*, of Lugano, Switzerland, warning him that if he continued to publish articles attacking the Italian Government and Premier Mussolini he would be expelled from Switzerland. This could be done under article 70 of the Swiss Constitution.

Not long after this incident, Premier Mussolini of Italy by royal decree ordered a dissolution of the Italian Chamber of Commerce of Geneva, and sent the Fascist commander, Signor Ferrata, to Switzerland to carry out his instructions. The Chamber of Commerce, however, at a general

meeting, by 40 votes to 10, refused either to receive Ferrata or to dissolve.

The affair was complicated by the fact that many members of the Chamber were Swiss, who considered Mussolini's action to be against Swiss sovereignty. It was thought that direct diplomatic pourparlers would be opened between Berne and Rome concerning the matter.

Political equality, even in Switzerland, has been slow of attainment. Jan. 14 marked the sixtieth anniversary of the passage of the law which gave to the Jewish residents of the country the same political and juridical rights as those enjoyed by other confessions. This occurred eighteen years after the formation of the present Confederation.

[TURKEY AND THE NEAR EAST]

## Official Turkish View of Mosul Decision

*Angora Resentful But Bides Its Time—Political Struggle in Egypt—  
Ibn Saud New King of Hedjaz—Peace Moves in Syria—Riza  
Khan as New Shah of Persia Granted \$600,000 a Year*

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

Professor of History, University of Illinois

AT the first of the year an announcement was made which purported to be the official Turkish view on the Mosul question: The decision by the League of Nations was deliberately molded to suit the British aims, and Turkish rights were not at all considered; the Turkish Government desired only the city of Mosul and was willing that the rest of the province should go to Iraq; Turkey would not fight now, but would await an opportune time; feeling in Turkey was stronger against France than against Britain, because the former supported the latter after having guaranteed to Turkey her sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The British Government maintained the attitude of desiring friendly negotiations with Turkey, and a visit was arranged to be made by the British Ambassador in Angora. Many Turks inclined to the position that negotiations with Britain need not be hastened, and that when they should

take place the League's decision as regards Mosul should be disregarded.

Turkish representatives abroad have been endeavoring to discover the attitude of different Governments toward the League's decision. Considerable disappointment was felt when it was reported that Germany and Bulgaria, the former allies of Turkey, were inclined to support the decision of the League. Tewfik Rushdi Bey, the Foreign Minister, made a statement on the Mosul question before the Assembly on Jan. 9. Though the details have not become available, the statement met the approval of the Assembly.

It appears that in adopting the Swiss Civil Code, the Turks have indirectly done away with two Islamic institutions which have long discredited that religion in the eyes of Christians, namely, polygamy and slavery. The latter institution was theoretically done away with in Turkey several decades ago. A commission has been



considering the abolition of polygamy under all but exceptional circumstances. The adoption of a European scheme *in toto* may accomplish the results desired without arousing excessive antagonism.

The struggle between the Government and certain elements in the population over the rapidity of Westernization continues. Reports are sent out from time to time of the execution of groups for opposition to the Government, and even in some localities for refusal to wear Western hats. Nevertheless, the Government has pushed its program to the extent of adopting the Gregorian calendar, and the twenty-four hour day beginning at midnight. The Governor of Constantinople at the beginning of February promulgated a detailed law restricting the expenditures permitted in connection with weddings.

In the middle of January Turkish delegates proceeded to Paris with the intention of opening negotiations regarding the Ottoman pre-war debt. Greek and Turkish delegates have been in a dispute over the ownership of Giaur Ada, a small island in the delta of the Maritza River. The Greeks have presented their view to The Hague Court of International Justice.

## Egypt

**I**NTERNAL politics continued to centre about the struggle between the supporters of the Prime Minister, Ziwari Pasha, and the partisans of Zaghlul Pasha. At the meeting of the Bar Association late in December the Zaghlulist candidate, Morcos Pasha Hanna, was elected by a considerable majority. The meeting proceeded then to hold a debate on the political situation and finally passed resolutions condemning

the Prime Minister and his supporters and policies.

The two Opposition leaders, Zaghlul Pasha and Adly Pasha met on Dec. 28, 1925, and later issued a statement that they "had found themselves in complete agreement on all important questions."

Two thousand Egyptian notables of the group supporting the Government entertained Lord Lloyd, the British High Commissioner, on Dec. 24. He was strongly applauded when he affirmed Great Britain's belief in constitutional forms of government.

Agreements were signed in December for a regular air service between Egypt and India. It was planned to begin with flights every two weeks in each direction.

About the time of the surrender of Medina and Jeddah Sultan Ibn Saud sent a representative to Egypt and invited the Government to take part once more in the annual pilgrimage to the Holy

City of Islam and also to send representatives to a congress of the Moslem world, which should discuss the future administration of the Hedjaz. Two weeks later it was announced that the Egyptian Government would once more participate in the pilgrimage and would send the Holy Carpet for the first time since 1922.

At the beginning of February a committee of clergy associated with the Mosque and University of El-Azhar issued a renewed call for a great Islamic congress at Cairo to be held on May 13 for the election of a new Caliph.

## Arabia

**I**T has been affirmed and denied that the abdication of King Ali on Dec. 19, 1925, was mediated by the British Government, and that it comprised the following items:



Mustapha Kemal, the head of the Turkish Republic, as he appeared on Oct. 20, 1925, when for the first time he wore in public the silk hat of Western society

That Sultan Ibn Saud would make up all arrears of pay owing to officers and men in the service of King Ali, as well as all debts from the latter to the inhabitants of Jedda and to foreign firms for munitions; that property seized from residents and officials in the Hedjaz should be restored to them; that a general amnesty should be declared and that a provisional government should be set up reserving to the inhabitants of the Hedjaz the right to elect their own ruler. A denial of the accuracy of these terms, purporting to come from the Wahabi Sultan himself, declared that the only conditions of acceptance were the grant of a general amnesty and permission to King Ali to remove his personal belongings.

The announcement was made on Jan. 11 that Ibn Saud had been proclaimed King of the Hedjaz at Mecca. Such an event would leave it at the option of the new King whether the proposed Islamic conference, if it should be held, would have any real authority in deciding concerning the administration of the Holy Cities.

He has regularly maintained good relations with Great Britain, from the Government of which nation he received a subsidy during the time of the World War.

Sir Gilbert Clayton, who recently negotiated the Hadda and Bahra agreements with Ibn Saud regarding his frontiers at the north, has been negotiating with the Imam Yahya as regards the relations of Aden with Yemen. The former Grand Sheikh of the Senussi Brotherhood, the Seyyid Ahmed, appeared to be engaged in adjusting relations between the Angora Government and the three rulers of independent Arabia.

## Syria

AS late as the first week of February no signs appeared looking toward the pacification of the country. In some quarters decidedly pessimistic views prevailed, such as the belief that the new High Commissioner de Jouvenel had failed. Those leaning to this belief held that de Jouvenel was being hampered by instructions, and that, though he had the best intentions, he lacked sufficient personal force to dominate the situation.

There was a continuation of hostilities

of a local and desultory character, such as raids on villages that were openly loyal to the French, the tearing up of considerable stretches of the railways, attacks upon the suburbs of Damascus and the like. Attempts of the authorities to hold elections were broken up in some places by violence. Offers of the French authorities proposed concessions very far short of the demands of the insurgents. Attempts of the French to separate the Druses from the Nationalist Syrians, to come between the Druses and their leaders, to win the entire population of the Lebanon by the speedy formulation of a Constitution, and to create a large party of friends of Syrian unity who would support the French mandate, appeared to have met with very scanty success. In general the French demanded complete surrender and the giving up of arms as a necessary prerequisite to a liberal reorganization of the country. Their Syrian opponents were afraid to trust themselves unarmed in the hands of the French, particularly since they had not been promised exemption from imprisonment and the confiscation of their property. Observers of the situation also pointed out that a considerable fraction of these people, although characterized as rebels and brigands by the French, were animated by as unmixed patriotic motives as could be found in other revolutionary attempts. The natives, indeed, have nerved themselves up to the point of demanding liberty or death.

The High Commissioner on Jan. 3 issued a proclamation addressed to the Druses, urging them to lay down their arms. The statement in substance follows:

### TO THE DRUSES—

#### Why Are You Fighting?

I have come to bring you the right to make your own Constitution, to choose your own government and its chiefs. \* \* \*

Some days ago certain Druse notables, in despair because of your sufferings, went to seek your chiefs, in order to show them that fighting has no reason for existence and can lead the Druses only to defeat, death and famine, of which your wives and your children will be the first victims.

The French army allowed these notables to pass, because I did not wish that France should bear responsibility for the evils which threaten you.

This responsibility Sultan Atrash has taken upon himself. \* \* \*

France alone can give you grain, wells, roads, schools, and that national liberty which you lack \* \* \* if your wives and your children starve, if your ruin and your defeat become irremediable, it will not be my fault but that of Sultan Atrash and the foreigners who pay him. \* \* \*

Druses! your only means of conquering is by laying down your arms! The peace, the liberty, the bread which I bring you are worth more than your rifles! Recollect that you can do nothing against France and that she can do everything for you.

The High Commissioner of  
the French Republic,  
JOUVENEL.

The Druses some weeks later forwarded to the Commissioner a letter signed by Sultan Atrash, in which they proposed the nomination of delegates to confer regarding peace. The High Commissioner, apparently because he did not wish to recognize his opponents as having belligerent rights, replied that:

The Druses must first cease hostilities and then a Constitution will be prepared by agreement of qualified authority. A Parliament will be constituted, which will decide whether the Druse Mountain desires to form an independent nation or to attach itself to Damascus. \* \* \*. All that France asks of the Druses, Syrians, Lebanons, and Alouites is to guarantee together a common external frontier, and as regards the internal disputes to avoid fighting and seek the arbitration of France, whose aims are prosperity, peace, and justice. The Druse chiefs now have only to lay down their arms.

## Iraq

THE Council of the League of Nations having ruled on Dec. 16 that if Mosul is to remain with Iraq negotiations for extending the Anglo-Iraqi treaty must be begun within six months, an agreement to this effect was drafted and signed a few weeks later. It was understood that Britain would undertake to prolong the relationship now existing between her and Iraq until such time as Iraq should enter the League of Nations, but in no case beyond twenty-five years; and Iraq agreed to accept the prolongation, subject to reasonable modifications from time to time. Mr. Baldwin, the British Prime Minister, recently explained as regards Great Britain's presence in Iraq: "It is not an undertaking to spend money on or to keep troops

in Iraq either for the maintenance of internal power or for its defense against external aggression, but to continue our co-operation and advice in maintaining a stable system of government."

King Feisal expressed his opinion on the subject as follows:

I see no reason why Iraq should not have an amicable alliance with England, not only for twenty-five years, but for any length of time which may be necessary, provided always that the dignity of the nation is preserved, and that there are no stipulations which would retard the progress of the Iraqi people.

It also was announced that a separate military agreement was being negotiated. It was understood that when British military obligations in Iraq ceased, some form of political sponsorship would continue.

## Persia

THE Mejliss, or Parliament, voted a civil list for the new Shah amounting to about \$600,000 annually. The Crown Prince was voted a civil list of about half that amount.

The American Secretary of State, Frank B. Kellogg, on Jan. 6 addressed to President Coolidge a letter in which he recited the history of the \$110,000 which was paid between Dec. 24, 1924, and March 29, 1925, by the Persian Government, as the expenses of sending the U. S. S. Trenton to Persian waters for the purpose of bringing back the body of Vice Consul Imbrie, who was killed in Teheran on July 18, 1924. The American Government proposed before the payment was made that this money might be used to establish a trust fund for the education of Persian students at institutions of higher learning in the United States. A resolution to carry this plan into effect was adopted by the House of Representatives on March 2, 1925, but the Senate did not have an opportunity to take action prior to its adjournment on March 4. Mr. Kellogg suggested that the President again request Congress to authorize the use of these funds as proposed.

Three French military airplanes arrived in Teheran on Jan. 10, having flown from Bagdad in about three and three-fourths hours, a distance of over 500 miles. Proposals were said to have been made calling for the establishment of an aerial postal service between Paris and Teheran.

# Small Progress in Chinese Customs Conference

*China Attacks Special Rights Regime in Extraterritorial Commission—  
Minister Shidehara's Statement of Japanese Policy—Death of  
Japanese Premier Leads to Cabinet Crisis*

By QUINCY WRIGHT

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## China

THE past month has witnessed the continuance of the Customs Conference, the beginning of the Commission on Extraterritoriality and a lull in the civil war. Chang Tso-lin's relations with Russia in Manchuria were seriously strained and Wu Pei-fu in the south was said to be threatening the Kuomintang Party.

Japan seemed to be mainly responsible for the stagnation of the Customs Conference, which began in Peking on Oct. 26. She was reported to fear injury to her trade by the increase of Chinese tariffs and to desire assurances that adequate revenues would be earmarked for the service of foreign loans, though, with the other powers, she had accepted the principle of Chinese tariff autonomy by Jan. 1, 1929. She objected, however, to the Chinese proposal for interim rates and insisted that a 7½ per cent. increase should be the limit. The United States delegation was ready to allow 12½ per cent., while China herself wanted 12½ per cent. ordinary increase and 20 per cent. on 152 specified articles, including silks, woolens, cottons, clothing, hats, shoes, leather, manufactured food-stuffs, paper, wood, chinaware, drugs, feathers, precious stones, motor vehicles other than touring cars, and many miscellaneous articles.

The Commission on Extraterritoriality, which had planned to meet on Dec. 18 and again on Jan. 8, did not hold its first session until Jan. 14. The Chinese Minister of Justice, Ma Chung Wa, in his opening address referred to China as "the only great and independent nation in which the extraterritoriality anomaly exists," and said, "It has been the policy of the Chinese Government to obtain the relin-

quishment of territorial rights by the foreign powers," in pursuance of which it had reformed the codes and courts. He was convinced that "the extraterritorial régime in China has outlived its usefulness."

In his response, Mr. Hioki, the Japanese Commissioner, was non-committal, but recognized that "the régime was introduced into the country simply as a modus vivendi to aid in establishing harmonious relations between China and foreign countries and therefore destined to abrogation upon removal of the conditions which called it into being." Ma Chung Wu of China was elected Honorary President, and Silas Strawn of the United States, Chairman. The commission will begin by a study of Chinese law and judicial administration.

Soviet Russia's protest to Chang Tso-lin over the arrest on Jan. 16 of M. Ivanov, general manager of the Chinese Eastern Railway, under Chang's orders, led (Jan. 23) to an adjustment of the immediate dispute between Russia and Chang over the latter's use of the railway for transportation of his troops. Soviet protests, however, were renewed on Jan. 30, this time against the conduct of General Chang Tuan-sing, in command of Harbin under Chang Tso-lin. He was accused of arresting Russians without cause and of proposing to Chang Tso-lin seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

Chinese comment betrayed suspicion of both Japan and Russia. The former was accused by anti-Chang forces of assisting Chang in Manchuria and by Chang himself of giving insufficient aid and sheltering the comrades of the traitorous General Kuo, who was executed by Chang. On Jan. 31 Peking students passed resolutions against the danger of "Soviet and Japanese aggression."

It was announced at Washington, D. C.,



on Feb. 10, that twenty-six Americans were detained by Kouminchun troops near Hankow, and that steps had been taken by J. Van A. MacMurray, the American Minister, to effect their release.

The Cantonese boycott of British goods continued, so much to the damage of Hongkong trade that the British Government was sending a special commission to South China in the hope of settling the situation.

Serious famines were reported in central China, especially in Hunan, Hupeh, Honan, Yunnan, Kiangsi and Szechuan provinces.

## Japan

**PRIME MINISTER VISCOUNT TAKAKA KATO** died on Jan. 28 after four days' illness of influenza. He was 67 years old and had been in public life since his appointment as Minister to England in 1894. He paved the way for the Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902 and signed its renewal in 1911. He served in both houses of the Japanese Parliament, was three times Foreign Minister and became Prime Minister in June, 1924. He drew up the twenty-one demands against China in 1915 and was irreconcilable on the American exclusion law. He was President of the Kenseikai party, in which position he has been succeeded by R. Wakatsuki, who was appointed temporary Premier.

It seemed probable that Wakatsuki would have difficulty in forming a Cabinet unless he resorted to coalition with the Seiyuhonto party. The Peers were said to prefer a dissolution, but in view of the enlarged franchise (the act of 1925 abolishing property qualifications and enfranchising 11,000,000 men was promulgated on Jan. 30) the results of this are wholly problematical. The Government, however, under the "Peace Preservation act" was taking measures to suppress the development of a labor party which had been organized as a result of the new franchise.

In addressing the Imperial Diet on Jan. 21, Foreign Minister Shidehara reviewed the recent troubles in China and noted the consistency of Japanese action with its settled policy, viz.:

(1) Absolute non-interference in China's domestic affairs and (2) safeguarding of Japan's rights

and interests by all legitimate means at our disposal \* \* \* No doubt complete tranquillity of the whole region of the three Eastern Provinces, undisturbed by any scourge of war, is highly to be desired in the interest of the native population, as well as of the Japanese residents. It is, however, a responsibility that properly rests upon China. Assumption of that responsibility by Japan without just cause would be manifestly inconsistent with the fundamental conception of existing international relations, with basic principles of the Washington treaties, and with the repeated declarations of the Japanese Government.

Referring to the pending conferences, Foreign Minister Shidehara discerned the rising tide of Chinese nationalism and considered it wise to accord China customs autonomy. He also sympathized with the Chinese desire for full judicial autonomy. Relations with Russia and the United States he found good, though of the last he reiterated his position on the exclusion act as "irreconcilable with the rules of international comity and justice."

Soviet proposals for a Russo-Japanese pact of non-aggression in China were ignored by Japan on Jan. 23 with the remark that "at present the Government does not intend to make any further treaties with the Soviets."

Ten large Japanese lumber concerns were planning to go to Moscow to negotiate a forty-five year concession for 200,000 acres of timber land in the Vladivostok district. Other Japanese concessions in this region were contemplated.

## Siam

**THE** new King, Praja Dhipok of Sukhodaya, was confirmed at a meeting of the Royal Family and Cabinet in joint session. One of his first acts was to appoint a Supreme Council of State to act as a permanent advisory body. It was composed of elder statesmen of the Royal House.

Phya Buri Navarasth, Siamese Minister to the United States, died at Saranac Lake, N. Y., on Feb. 8, aged 39. The Secretary of the Siamese Legation later announced that the body would be cremated and the ashes taken to Siam for burial. Mr. Navarasth was one of the youngest members of the Siamese diplomatic corps and was generally popular.



BY FRANCIS H. SISSON, PROMINENT AMERICAN FINANCIER

**T**HE settlement of Italy's war debt to Great Britain, the rise in sterling and yen exchange, the disclosure for the first time of detailed information concerning the amount of outstanding loans on stocks and bonds to brokers affiliated with the New York Stock Exchange and the filing of a suit by the United States Government to prevent the formation of a proposed \$2,000,000,000 food products corporation, were the most significant developments of the month in finance.

The steady advance of sterling, which at \$4.86½ for cables on Feb. 2 sold within \$.00025 of par for the first time since Dec. 24, 1914, was the dominant feature of the exchange market during the past month. Sterling had been consistently firm in recent weeks, due to a combination of favorable circumstances. Bank rates in London were appreciably higher than in New York, resulting in the maintenance of large American balances in the British capital. The large outward movement of gold from England, which was caused principally by shipments for the account of the "rubber" countries in the Far East, had virtually ceased, and the Bank of England's statements at the end of January for the first time in a long period showed an increase in gold reserves. Japanese exchange established a new high record on Jan. 26, when the yen was quoted at 45.10 cents for cables. A combination of economic and political factors was declared to have been responsible for a large volume of speculative buying in many parts of the world, which contributed to the advance.

#### UNUSED BRITISH CREDIT

The annual report of the New York Federal Reserve Bank, issued on Feb. 3, disclosed the fact that Great Britain had not taken advantage of the credit arranged with the Reserve banks to protect British exchange, and that, though the relations of the New York bank with the Bank of England were close, there was nothing in the arrangement committing either to any stipulated action relative to discount rates.

Gold bars worth \$10,000,000, the largest shipment ever received from South America, and one of the largest on record from any source, arrived in New York from Chile on Feb. 3. The gold was shipped by the Banco Centrale de Chile to a New York bank as part of the development of Chile's new banking system, which was inaugu-

rated recently on lines laid down by Professor Kemmerer of Princeton. The gold was to be held in New York as part of the Chile bank's reserve. A shipment was also made to London for the same purpose.

#### LOANS TO BROKERS

Brokerage firms affiliated with the New York Stock Exchange borrowed \$3,513,174,154 from banks, trust companies and other banking agencies in New York City as of Jan. 30, for the purpose of carrying on their operations, both for customers and investment account, according to an official statement issued by the New York Stock Exchange on Feb. 6. This sum included \$2,516,960,500 borrowed on demand loans, and \$996,213,555 borrowed on time loans. The disclosure of these figures—the first of its kind—followed agitation in the financial district for many years for such information. It inaugurated a new system by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York and the New York Stock Exchange by which this detailed information is to be made public every month.

Large as the total of loans seemed, the aggregate of these loans, according to President E. H. Simmons of the Stock Exchange, constituted less than 6 per cent. of the total market value of securities listed on the Exchange; about 7 per cent. of the market value of listings exclusive of United States Government bonds, and about 10 per cent. of listed stocks alone, a significant indication of the efficiency and economy with which credit was employed to facilitate the ordinary merchandising of securities through the New York Stock Exchange market. At the beginning of 1926 the market value of issues listed on the New York Stock Exchange totaled approximately \$70,000,000,000.

In consequence of the calling of about \$40,000,000 of loans by banks, the rate for call money advanced on Feb. 2 from 4 per cent. to 5½ per cent. On Feb. 8 \$25,000,000 in loans were reported as called by the banks.

#### SUIT TO HALT BAKING MERGER

The United States Government moved on Feb. 8 to halt the formation of a proposed \$2,000,000,000 food products corporation, otherwise called the "Bread Trust," and force the several defendants to relinquish control of competing companies

Continued on Page xxviii.

# GOOD STOCKS

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alleged to have been brought together in a monopoly. The Government, acting under the Sherman Anti-Trust act and the Clayton act, filed suit in the Federal Court against the Ward Baking Corporation, the General Baking Corporation, the Continental Baking Corporation, the United States Bakeries Corporation, and several individuals. The filing of the suit followed quickly the announcement of the formation of the \$2,000,000,000 corporation under the laws of Maryland at the beginning of February. The Government's aim was to prevent the formation of a proposed alleged trust before it could be completed—an unusual procedure.

Control of the Associated Oil Company, which has become the second largest company on the Pacific Coast, passed to banking interests in New York on Feb. 6 for a cash consideration of \$132,000,000. This was the largest cash deal ever made in the petroleum industry of the country, so far as could be learned, and was second in size to the Dodge Brothers deal last Spring for \$146,000,000.

Directors of the St. Louis-San Francisco Railway Company announced on Jan. 22 that they had acquired a substantial interest in the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railway Company, with the intention of merging the two lines into what would be, in mileage, the greatest railway system in the world. The 5,546 miles of main track operated by the St. Louis-San Francisco added to the 8,039 miles of the Rock Island would give the proposed merged system 13,585 miles, more than the 12,447 miles of the Southern Pacific System, which has maintained the greatest mileage in the country. The combined assets of the two companies would total \$875,000,000.

#### RECORD RAILROAD EARNINGS

The principal railroads of the country earned \$1,136,973,477 net in 1925, the largest total in their history, but—because of the additional investment in their properties since the termination of Federal control—a lower rate of return than that earned in 1916. The total compared with \$986,744,996 in 1924, with \$961,955,457 in 1923, with \$760,187,319 in 1922, with \$600,937,457 in 1921, and with \$17,226,902 in 1920. These figures were indicative of the gradual uphill climb that the carriers have made since they were returned to private management. The rate of return in the Interstate Commerce Commission's tentative valuation was 5½ per cent. for the year. The railroads, however, have refused to recognize this valuation and compute the rate on the total of the book values of the various properties. On this basis the earnings represented a return of 4.83 per cent., according to figures filed by the carriers with the Bureau of Railway Economics at Washington.

Conductors and trainmen on all railroads of the

Continued on Page xxx.





**T**HE record of one typical day on the New York Stock Exchange recently showed transactions in the shares of 464 corporations. For 142 of these companies the Guaranty Trust Company acts either as Transfer Agent or Registrar.

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country, it was disclosed on Jan. 28, were instructed by their union leaders to file a schedule of wage demands on Feb. 1, seeking the restoration of the wage scales fixed by the Railway Labor Board in 1920. These were the highest wage scales in the history of the railroads, and their restoration, according to a spokesman for the carriers, would increase the total annual expenses of the companies by \$500,000,000, and would "cut off all of the surplus earned by the carriers since their recovery from Federal control." The new wages would mean an increase of from \$1 to \$1.50 a day over the prevailing scale for conductors, baggagemen, flagmen and brakemen. Corresponding increases, it was reported, would be asked for yard service employees.

#### SECURITIES MARKET

The Board of Governors of the New York Stock Exchange announced on Jan. 27 that they had under consideration the problem of future listings of securities which did not carry voting power. This action by the Exchange authorities was the result of recent criticism of the sale of securities to the public which did not carry voting rights, such rights being vested with the interests of firms who organize or finance the companies. On the following day the Exchange was reported to have held up the listing of two new issues because

of the question of voting control of the corporations whose securities were offered.

It was announced on Feb. 5 that a new association to facilitate trading in unlisted securities had been formed by a group of Wall Street investment houses and would begin active operations almost immediately. Its aim was stated to be to provide a uniform trading basis for securities that cover a wide range—public utilities, banks and trust companies, sugar, tobacco and other industrials so far not listed on any Exchange.

A \$15,000,000 corporation for the extension of credits in Germany and elsewhere was formed in January by New York bankers, with whom were associated Dutch interests and the Disconto Gesellschaft, one of the large banks of Germany. The purposes of the corporation were to extend credits to and possibly acquire equities in German and other European corporations whose individual requirements were limited to moderate sums, and which were therefore not suited to making public loans.

The State Department announced in Washington on Jan. 23 that German Government bondholders in the United States were to benefit by a revaluation of their bonds and to exchange them for new German bonds, which would be issued at 2½ per

Continued on Page xxxii.

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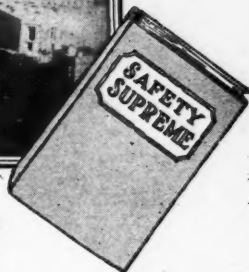


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cent. of the gold value of the old bonds to persons holding them since 1920, and at approximately 12½ per cent. to holders before that date. The negotiations for the exchange of the bonds, it was stated, would be handled by a special Commissioner to the United States from Germany.

Dividends were paid on Feb. 1 on the shares of 226 corporations whose stocks were quoted on the New York Stock Exchange or traded in over the counter.

Public offerings of corporate securities in January totaled \$546,870,100, a new high record for a single month, exceeding the previous record amount of \$473,272,100 in January, 1925, by \$73,598,000. Both railroad and industrial sections showed gains over January, 1925; railroad financing aggregating \$52,020,000, an increase of \$22,178,000, while industrial financing totaled \$494,850,100, a gain of \$51,420,000.

Among the noteworthy security offerings in the last thirty days were the following: \$25,000,000 gold debentures of the Lehigh Power Securities Corporation; \$25,000,000 gold bonds of the Rheinlbe Union; \$10,000,000 preferred stock of the German Credit and Investment Corporation; \$22,500,000 Western United Gas and Electric Company first mortgage bonds; \$10,000,000 gold bonds of the Manitoba Power Company, Ltd.; \$10,000,000 gold notes of the Fisk Rubber Company; \$30,000,000 bonds of the Baltimore &

Ohio Railroad, and \$10,000,000 bonds of the Cities Service Company.

#### GREAT BRITAIN

F. C. Goodenough, Chairman of Barclay's Bank, declared at the shareholders' meeting in London on Jan. 21 that handling the problem of America's surplus gold was of great importance and would seem to point to the desirability of co-operation between all those chiefly concerned, especially between the British and American Treasuries and the Bank of England and the Federal Reserve Banks, so as to avoid a too rapid release or a too rapid deflation such as would result from unwise competition for available supplies. He added that fuller employment of American resources in support of the great speculative and industrial activity in the United States had caused the world to look once more to London to supply its demands for fresh capital.

Great Britain's "invisible exports" in 1925 were estimated in a report made public by the British Board of Trade on Jan. 24 as £429,000,000, compared with £415,000,000 in 1924 and with £373,000,000 in 1923. The total excess of visible imports over exports, including bullion, was £401,000,000, as against £353,000,000 for 1924 and £220,000,000 for 1923. It was estimated, there-

Continued on Page xxxiv.

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fore, that on all accounts there was a favorable trade balance in 1925 of £28,000,000, as contrasted with £63,000,000 in 1924 and £153,000,000 in 1923. The amount available for investment overseas was consequently much reduced as compared with recent years.

#### GERMANY

Further indications that Germany had passed her economic crisis and was facing marked improvement in her industrial and financial situation were furnished by the December trade balance of 36,000,000 marks, which, for the first time since 1924, was favorable. This balance, made public on Jan. 25, was significant in view of the fact that before the war Germany had an average unfavorable trade balance amounting to 80,000,000 marks monthly. Expert economic opinion in Germany declared that the worst has now passed.

#### ITALY

The Italian Government has instituted a rigid system of control over loans solicited or obtained abroad by private Italian industries in order to prevent foreign control of Italy's fundamental industries or other financial and political complications. Under a decree announced on Jan. 21 every project to obtain a foreign loan must be examined and authorized by a committee comprising the Minister of Finance, the Director General of the Treasury and the Director General of Direct Taxation. This committee would lay down the conditions under which every loan would be negotiated and control the use of the money for the purpose indicated.

#### GREECE

The Greek Government on Jan. 24 proclaimed a forced internal loan of 1,250,000,000 drachmas, repayable in twenty years and bearing 6 per cent. interest, to be raised by reducing the nominal value of banknotes in circulation by 25 per cent., except in the case of money deposited in banks and notes in circulation amounting to 25 drachmas and under. The drachma was nominally valued at 19.3 cents. In addition, the decree provided for conversion into a ten-year forced loan bearing 8 per cent. interest of 750,000,000 drachmas of Treasury bonds which fall due on March 31, 1927. With the sum produced by these two loans the Greek Government hoped to pay off the whole of the floating debt and by conversion of half the Treasury bonds into ten-year bonds it intended in the future to avoid a dangerously large floating debt.

A tax of \$10 on all foreigners visiting Greece was announced in Athens on Jan. 20.

#### JAPAN

Japan enjoyed the largest foreign trade in its history during 1925. The country's exports were valued at \$945,884,584 and its imports at \$1,054,939,766. The United States was Japan's best customer, taking goods valued at \$400,616,000.

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# GENERAL ELECTRIC



BY FRANCIS H. SISSON, PROMINENT AMERICAN FINANCIER

**O**F paramount importance in the field of international finance during the month has been the conclusion on Aug. 18 of the agreement for the funding of the Belgian debt to the United States. Almost equally interesting have been the discussions of other international debts.

The Secretary of the Treasury's program for September financing was made public on Sept. 7. It took the form of an offering of nine months' Treasury certificates of indebtedness to the amount of \$250,000,000. This represented the first Treasury financing for the current fiscal year, during which the issue of a total of \$1,125,000,000 of new Government securities has been planned. The first certificates were dated Sept. 15, 1925, to mature on June 15, 1926, and bear interest at the rate of  $3\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. Treasury certificates which matured on Sept. 15 were accepted for the new issue. Secretary Mellon explained that the current offering was intended, with the balance already on hand and the September tax receipts, to cover the Treasury's further cash requirements until December, when further financing would be necessary.

September obligations of the Treasury consisted of only one issue of securities, maturing on the 15th, when about \$250,000,000 was redeemed, about \$100,000,000 of interest on the public debt and the usual cash requirements of the Government. For this the Treasury had the \$250,000,000 obtained from the September financing and about \$345,000,000 in income tax payments, which, it was estimated, would be collected on Sept. 15.

#### INCREASING TAX COLLECTIONS

Tax reduction advocates received additional support on Aug. 21 from a Treasury tabulation showing that, in spite of the lower schedules which became effective this year, internal revenue collections for July amounted to \$125,866,689, compared with \$110,814,885 during the corresponding month of 1924. The decreases due to the new law included a drop from \$6,000,000 in July, 1924, to \$1,500,000 in July, 1925, on amusement tickets.

The total collection of income tax from corporations and individuals during July was \$34,953,218. In 1924 it was \$29,264,137. Miscellaneous internal revenue sources in July yielded \$90,913,470, contrasted with \$81,550,747 in July, 1924. The capital stock tax on corporations yielded \$20,563,000 in July, while in the corresponding month of last year it brought into the Treasury only \$6,172,000.

#### UNITED STATES MONEY FLOWING BACK

Europeans who resorted to the large-scale use of American paper money during the unstable currency conditions that followed the war began to recover faith in the stabilized currencies established by their own nations, and the American money that was drawn abroad began to come back to the United States, according to a report made public in Washington on Aug. 22. The Department of Commerce found that in the first seven months of 1925 American currency previously sent abroad to the total of \$42,071,000 was returned. In the same period only \$3,131,000 of American money was sent abroad. About \$18,000,000 of the net return of United States money came from Germany and \$11,000,000 from England. The latter represented the concentration through London of American currency formerly held on the Continent, since the British never used dollar currency for domestic transactions. As this money came back to the United States it had the same effect as a gold import and served to pay off public or private debts due in America from Europe. Up to Aug. 22 gold exports from the United States had exceeded gold imports by \$144,000,000, but against that balance had to be placed the net import of United States money.

#### RAIL REVENUE GAINS

Gross operating revenues in July of the Class I railroads, having a total mileage of 236,659, amounted to \$522,426,600, an increase of \$40,600,500, or 8.4 per cent., compared with the corresponding month last year, according to reports filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission and made public on Sept. 3 by the Bureau of Railway Economics. The net railway operating





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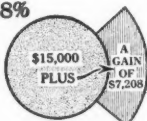
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income for the month was \$99,462,735, compared with \$74,368,289 in July of last year, an increase of \$25,094,446. This was equivalent to a return of 5.56 per cent. for July on the tentative valuation of the carriers. Operating expenses aggregated \$382,905,000, an increase of \$12,804,570, or 3.5 per cent., over those for the corresponding month last year, although freight traffic in July of this year, measured in net ton-miles, was approximately 14 per cent. greater than in July, 1924. Expenditures for maintenance in July totaled \$74,959,549, an increase of \$1,767,000, or 4.4 per cent., over July last year. Expenditures for maintenance of equipment amounted to \$105,322,051, an increase of \$5,851,250, or 5.9 per cent. The net operating income for the first seven months of this year amounted to \$537,165,541.

### SECURITIES MARKET

The volume of new securities offered during the last month was relatively small compared with the amounts brought out earlier in the year. This fact had a favorable effect on the tone of the market, since the supply of capital seeking investment did not appear to have diminished. The small number of new issues permitted the market to digest previous offerings, and in consequence reduced somewhat the floating supply of securities in the hands of dealers.

Among the outstanding offerings of the month were the following: \$25,000,000 gold bonds of the International Telephone and Telegraph Company, on Aug. 20; \$70,000,000 one-year gold notes of the Dominion Government of Canada, on Sept. 2; \$2,000,000 Province of Buenos Aires six months' Treasury gold notes, on Sept. 3; \$7,500,000 State of Missouri bonds, due serially from March 1, 1939, to 1942, and \$6,450,000 State of Missouri gold bonds, due serially from Oct. 1, 1933, to 1939, on Sept. 9.

News was received in Wall Street on Sept. 8 of a new issue of Dominion of Canada internal bonds, completing Canada's fiscal plans for the year. The issue was underwritten by a Canadian syndicate, and it was announced that there would be no public offering in the United States. The Dominion has a \$42,000,000 internal bond issue which will mature on Dec. 1, and the new issue is partly to take care of it.

Private banking interests in New York on Aug. 25 extended credits totaling \$15,000,000 to the Bank of Finland to finance exports of Finnish lumber. The Bank of Finland will apportion the funds to individual lumber exporters as needed.

### FOREIGN EXCHANGE

Excited dealings in foreign exchange on Aug. 26 led to new high records for Danish and Norwegian kronen and for Brazilian milreis. The Danish currency closed with a net gain of 32 points for the day at 24.33, the highest value

reached in several years. The Norwegian advance was 23 points, the close being 19.46, while milreis gained 30 points, closing at 12.55, a new high for the year. The rise in Norwegian and Danish exchange came on top of a steady upward movement of several days' duration. Still keeping very much in the centre of the stage by reason of the heavy speculation, which has reached world-wide proportions, the Danish and Norwegian exchanges on Sept. 3 soared to levels unmatched in the last several years. Copenhagen advanced 72 points to 25.20 cents and Oslo remittances 80 points to 21.13 cents. On Sept. 8 there occurred a buying wave, springing from what traders believed to be speculation for a rise to "par" for Danish and Norwegian bills. The gross gain in the Danish unit amounted to 20 points at 25.28 cents, and in the Norwegian to 75 points at 22.23 cents, both new high levels for the year to date.

#### GENERAL CONDITIONS ABROAD

Europe began to present a more promising outlook than at any other time since the World War. Indications were plentiful that at last the troubled Continent was entering a period which should afford, after seven trying years of effort, solutions for most of the remaining post-war problems. Further evidence of this fact was submitted to the Department of Commerce early in September in a report by J. Walter Drake, Assistant Secretary of Commerce, who returned then from a trip through Europe, where he made a study of economic conditions affecting American trade and conferred with field officers of the department. Mr. Drake said that he found unmistakable appearance of fundamentally improved conditions on the Continent. This improvement, he explained, varied in different countries, but none the less there had been a gain in industry, transportation and commerce, in spite of the adverse factors that had held back European countries since the armistice.

#### GREAT BRITAIN

One of the uncertainties attending the restoration of the gold standard in Great Britain was the extent to which gold might be withdrawn from London, once the prohibition on exports was removed, was the comment of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York in recently discussing the financial situation in that country since the resumption of gold payments in April. Since the restoration of a free gold market, the bank found, the gold movement, instead of being adverse to London, had, up to late in August, been generally favorable, partly because foreign funds, assured of ready convertibility and attracted by London rates, tended to flow into the British market. Gold holdings of the Bank of England up to Aug. 19 showed an increase of £8,000,000, due to imports, which, together with an increase of £27,000,000 due to the transfer of gold from the currency note redemption account to the

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Bank of England in the week of April 29, raised the total gold holdings of the bank to £164,000,000, a new high level and £126,000,000 above the 1913 average.

The weekly statement of the Bank of England, as published in this country on Sept. 4, revealed that the gold holdings had decreased £663,000 from those of the preceding week, and the proportion of the bank's reserve to deposit liabilities was 28.82 per cent., as contrasted with 30.69 per cent. for the preceding week. The percentage reached on July 20, which was 31.67, was the highest of the present year to date, and also the highest since June 21, 1916. The lowest thus far this year has been 11.48, on Jan. 2. The lowest during or since the war was 720, on Dec. 20, 1920.

### ITALY

The Italian Cabinet on Aug. 25 made public its adoption of a policy of general surveillance of the foreign exchange market, as part of which regulations have been drawn up controlling exchange operations with France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Chile, Russia, Poland and Germany. These regulations govern all exchange trading with the countries named, forbidding certain types of transactions and placing others under the control of banks or Government financial institutions. The Government called upon bankers, industrialists, exporters and importers to restrict to absolute necessities their purchases of foreign money and to abstain from speculation. Pointing out that Italy had never enforced restriction of exchange operations, the Government declared that the commerce and industry of the nation must undertake responsibility for defending their interests in this respect.

### GERMANY

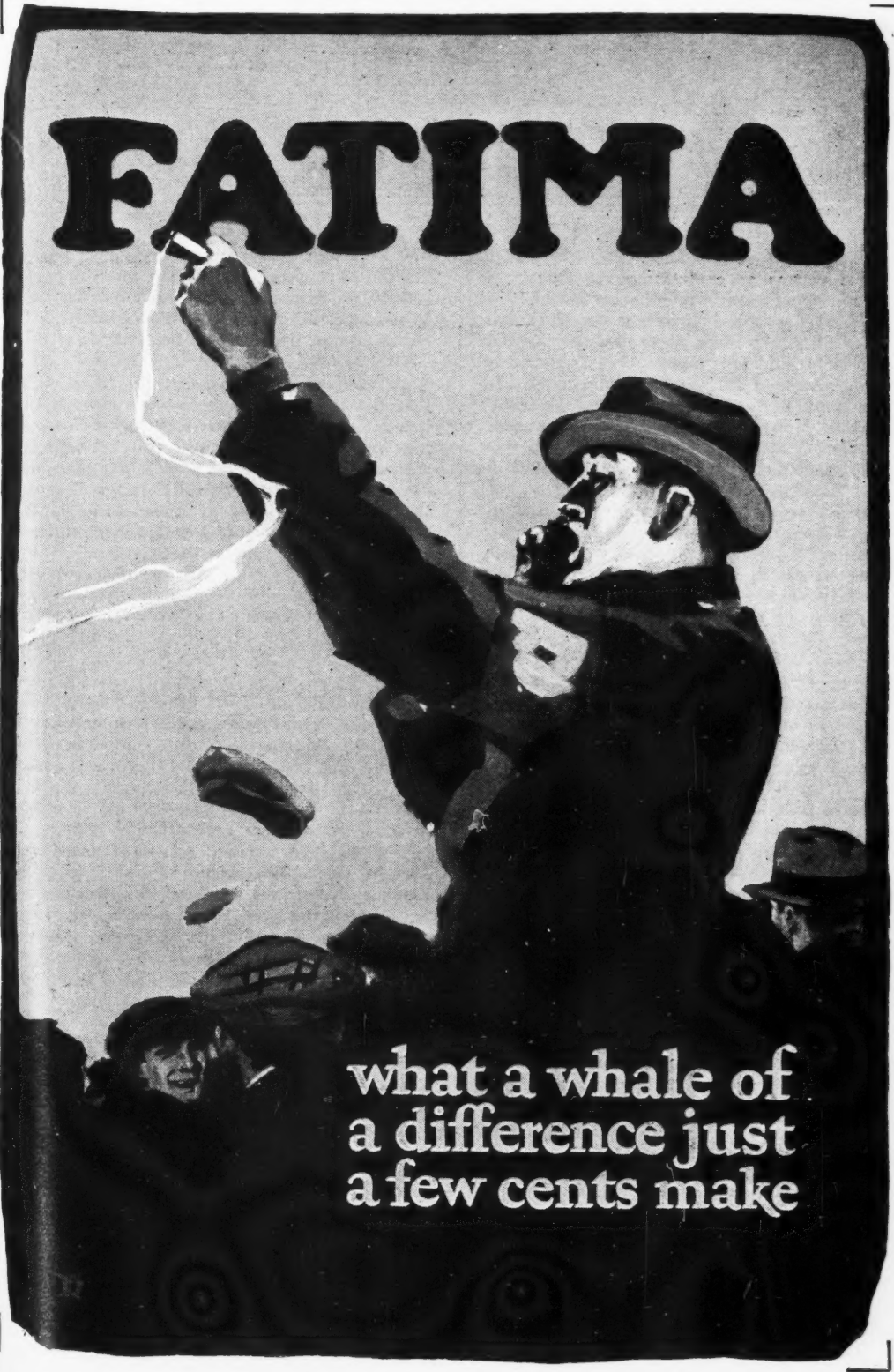
As part of the security offered by Germany in connection with the £40,000,000 loan to that country arranged under the Dawes reparation plan, the German Government sent £9,600,000 worth of German securities to England by airplane on Aug. 25. This was said to have been the most valuable load ever carried by an airplane.

### MEXICO

The Bank of Mexico, which opened in Mexico City on Sept. 1 as a bank of issue for that country, was established entirely with money supplied by that nation and its bankers. The bank started with a capital of \$50,000,000, of which 51 per cent. was supplied by the Government of Mexico and 49 per cent. subscribed by Mexican bankers. It succeeded the Monetary Commission, but unlike that commission, which could issue money only on special occasions, the new bank has full right to issue money. It also carries accounts of private individuals, established on lines somewhat similar to the Federal Reserve Bank in the United States, a rediscount rate for commercial paper, and acts as a clearing house.



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BY FRANCIS H. SISSON, PROMINENT AMERICAN FINANCIER

THE volume of export trade of the world is now on a par with what it was in 1913 and is expected to reach par in value early in 1926, according to an estimate by the National Foreign Trade Council, based on a study of trade figures of the last fiscal year, and made public at the beginning of November. The combined total of exports of fifteen principal exporting nations at the end of the fiscal year 1925 was \$15,088,000,000, compared with \$15,800,000,000 in 1913. These countries conduct 80 per cent. of the world's export trade. Excluding the United States, the remaining fourteen countries made an advance of 30 per cent. last fiscal year and their average is now 89 per cent. of 1913. Deflation is allowed for and the figures were reduced to 1913 purchasing power.

#### LONDON MONEY MARKET

The removal of the embargo against foreign loans in London, announced on Nov. 3, was the chief fiscal event in Great Britain during the month. The embargo was placed on foreign loans before the return to the gold standard in order to reduce the risk which it was felt might attend the return to a free gold market.

Renewal of foreign financing in London is expected to have an important bearing on foreign loan activities in New York, as the large banking houses in the latter city have had a virtual monopoly on this class of international business since the war.

Pronounced stringency characterized the London money market during the first week of November. The heavy loss of gold in the last two months has severely reduced the volume of credit, which London financiers believe is unlikely to expand again until gold flows in or the British Government makes large disbursements.

#### FRENCH FINANCE

The Bank of France weekly statement on Nov. 5 was discouraging. Not only did the end of the month business settlement make heavy calls on the Bank of France, but during the week new advances to the amount of 1,450,000,000 francs were made to the Government, bringing these advances to within 600,000,000 francs of the legal limit of 32,000,000,000 francs. Note circulation showed an increase of 1,333,000,000 francs, mak-

ing the total circulation slightly more than 48,000,000,000 francs, or within 3,000,000,000 francs of the legal limit of 51,000,000,000 francs. Discounts by the Bank showed an increase of 870,000,000 francs.

A break of  $9\frac{1}{4}$  points in the quotation of French francs occurred in New York on Oct. 13, largely as a result, it was reported, of the warning issued to debtor nations by Washington authorities that such nations must pay their obligations to the United States Government before they could expect any additional loans in this country. By Oct. 16, continued heavy selling of the French franc carried it to a new low for this year at  $4.42\frac{1}{2}$  cents, a level unequaled since March 8, 1924, when the franc stood at 3.42 cents. Renewed selling on Oct. 23 forced the quotation down to  $4.19\frac{1}{4}$  cents and by Nov. 5 to 3.96 cents.

#### LATIN-AMERICAN CONDITIONS

The effects of Brazil's favorable trade balance, the recent entrance of foreign capital into that country, and the withdrawal between January and September of 217,679,000 milreis of notes, were evident early in November in a general tendency to firmness of exchange.

The Republic of Peru late in October sent \$108,905 to its fiscal agents in New York to be used for interest, sinking fund and other charges on its external sinking fund sanitation loan negotiated a year ago and due in 1944. Approximately 12 per cent. of the bonds have been retired since issuance a year ago. Only two dollar bonds of the Republic are outstanding, the one mentioned and the loan of 1922, due 1932, of which more than 35 per cent. has been retired through sinking fund operations.

The Government of Costa Rica, it was announced on Nov. 5, is studying a plan to refund its internal debt of \$7,000,000. A large volume of bank deposits has been withdrawn during the last month to finance the harvest of coffee in Costa Rica.

Salvador contemplates refunding outstanding long-term loans at a more favorable interest rate. Further financing may be required for reorganization of the army and navy and new public works projects. Financial operations of the Government for 1925 are expected to show a deficit



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of about 45,000,000 paper pesos, although receipts will be 50,000,000 pesos in excess of the budget estimate.

### CANADA'S GOLD OUTPUT

Announcement of a drastic change in the disposition of the output of Canadian gold mines was made on Nov. 7, as the result of an arrangement by which the mining companies will have their gold minted at the Ottawa branch of the Royal Mint and will take payment in gold. The new plan was made necessary by the exchange situation between Canada and the United States, by which the Canadian dollar went to par and beyond. A statement on the subject said that "when American funds were at a premium it paid the Canadian mining companies to ship their product to the United States and take payment in American currency, but at the present high valuation of the Canadian dollar such shipments were made at a loss. The Ontario Mining Association has estimated that the saving to the industry this year on the estimated output of \$30,000,000 should be at least \$46,800, with exchange only at par. The use of the new avenue for disposal of gold bullion is entirely optional with each company, and the extent which it is resorted to will depend on various considerations, including the condition of the exchange market from time to time. The natural result will be to put a large amount of gold in the hands of Canadian banks."

### CHANGE IN BOSTON DISCOUNT RATE

The Federal Reserve Board on Nov. 9 approved a rediscount rate of 4 per cent. established by the Board of Directors of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, which became effective on Nov. 10. The rediscount rate that had prevailed at the Boston Bank since June, 1924, had been 3½ per cent. Following this action, discussion of the possibility of an early advance in the rediscount rate of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York became general in the Wall Street district. The latest statement of the Boston Federal Reserve Bank furnishes the basis for the advance in the rate there. Loans and discounts of the member banks in the Boston district have advanced \$80,000,000 since the first of the year, amounting on Nov. 9 to \$1,005,000,000.

### LARGE GOLD IMPORTS

Gold shipments from London to New York in the first twenty-seven days of October amounted to \$32,000,000, according to a compilation issued on Nov. 5. An additional \$9,500,000 in gold was reported en route, making a total of \$41,500,000 for the movement, the heaviest transfers of gold from London to New York to be made in any month since May, 1924. Gold to the value of \$4,000,000 was also received in San Francisco for shipment to New York, and further Japanese consignments of the metal are now under way.



The record imports of gold have been partly offset by shipments of the metal from New York to Canada, which amounted in the period under review to \$22,000,000, and the export of \$1,000,000 gold to the Straits Settlements.

#### RECORD RAILROAD INCOMES

The net operating income of Class 1 railroads in September was \$134,584,916, which was the largest total for any month on record, according to figures made public on Nov. 9 by the Bureau of Railway Economics. This is at the annual rate of 6.25 per cent. on the tentative valuation of the carriers fixed by the Interstate Commerce Commission, and at the rate of 5.42 per cent. on the property investment figures on the books of the railroads. It compares with previous high records of \$127,000,000 for October, 1924, and \$116,000,000 for September of last year. Net income for the first nine months of 1925 aggregated \$797,347,520, compared to \$679,445,117 in the corresponding period of 1924. This increase was said by railroad men to be due to increased efficiency and economy in operation, made possible largely by additional capital expenditure during the last three years.

#### SECURITIES MARKET.

All previous monthly records for the turnover of stocks on the New York Stock Exchange were broken in October. The total was 53,423,323 shares. The largest monthly total before that was 42,875,000 shares in December, 1924. There were fourteen full five-hour days of the month, in each of which 2,000,000 shares changed hands. In every two-hour session sales were at the rate of more than 2,000,000 shares. There were 845 separate issues traded in during the month, also a new high record. It was the biggest month in the history of the New York Stock Exchange, and one that greatly overtaxed the physical facilities of the Exchange.

An avalanche of orders for stocks of all kinds poured into the Exchange at the opening of business on Nov. 4. The result was a turnover of 2,860,830 shares, by far the largest of the year to that date, and a new average high price level. But that record was broken six days later when, on Nov. 10, following the reduction of the rediscount rate by the Boston Federal Reserve Bank, 3,448,747 shares were traded, which was the largest number that, up to that time, had changed hands in one day on the New York Stock Exchange. That was the fourth day in the history of the Exchange in which more than 3,000,000 shares were bought and sold. The turn-over in the hour between 2 and 3 o'clock was 1,051,500 shares, the largest in one hour ever known. The Exchange facilities were entirely inadequate to handle the business of the day and at the close the ticker was exactly thirty minutes behind the market.

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mobile companies listed on the New York Stock Exchange has advanced more than \$1,000,000,000 within the last year. Securities of these companies on Nov. 9 were valued in the market at approximately \$2,000,000,000, against a value of about \$900,000,000 a year before.

The flotation of new corporate issues continues to fall off as compared with 1924, the total for October being \$278,095,800, contrasted with \$384,032,000 in the corresponding month a year ago. The loss was accounted for largely through the drop of \$100,920,000 in new railroad financing, since new industrial securities declined only \$5,016,200, totaling \$266,627,800. New railroad issues amounted to only \$11,468,000. The total for the first ten months of the year, however, was \$3,016,653,400, a gain of \$304,985,000 over the corresponding period in the previous year. Of that total, there was \$436,618,200 of railroad bonds and stocks, a decline of \$443,640,800 from the amount in the first ten months of 1924. Industrial financing in the first ten months of this year aggregated \$2,580,035,200, a gain of \$748,625,800.

The largest single domestic issue during October was the \$19,400,000 of the North American Edison Company stock. Other issues were small, despite that of \$16,500,000 Andean Chile Nitrates Company bonds. During the month there was considerable foreign financing, including the floating of \$25,000,000 Czechoslovakian bonds and the securities of several German cities and States, among which were \$8,400,000 bonds of the State of Wuerttemberg.

Early in November there were offered in this country an issue of \$7,000,000 Danish Consolidated Municipal bonds (representing twenty-six municipalities), \$7,500,000 Republic of Peru bonds, and \$7,500,000 two-year notes of the Cunard Steamship Company.

### INDUSTRIAL CORPORATION EARNINGS

The statements of earnings covering operations for the first nine months of the current year, issued up to Nov. 9, by prominent industrial corporations showed remarkable gains in most instances compared with the corresponding period of 1924. The fact reflects the prosperity now prevailing throughout the country and largely accounts for the record-breaking activity and high prices now being recorded in the security market. Taken by groups, the automobile companies, the oil companies, and, to a less degree, the steel companies, made the most favorable comparison with the first nine months of last year. Virtually every prominent automobile company in the country reported larger earnings for the first nine months of 1925 than were reported for the corresponding period last year, while in some instances the earnings for the first three-quarters of the current year established new high records for all time to date.



BY FRANCIS H. SISSON, PROMINENT AMERICAN FINANCIER

**T**HE fiscal events of paramount importance during the month that has just passed were the increase in the Bank of England rate; the rise in the rediscount rate of four Federal Reserve banks; the fall of the Painlevé Cabinet, as a consequence of the critical financial situation in France; the premature payment by the Italian Government of the first instalment under the recent debt settlement reached with the United States Debt Commission, and the floating in this country of a \$100,000,000 loan for Italy.

The Bank of England revised its rate from 4 to 5 per cent. on Dec. 3. That was the third change in the British bank rate within the brief period of five months, and was due principally to the heavy withdrawals of gold from London, which have aggregated £19,000,000 (\$92,150,000) since the bank rate was reduced in October.

The directors of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York did not change the rediscount rate of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. for that bank at their weekly meeting on Dec. 3, although late in November the Federal Reserve Banks of Boston, Cleveland, Philadelphia and San Francisco advanced their rates to 4 per cent., leaving the New York bank the only one in the Reserve System with a rate less than that.

The stock market reacted promptly to the action of the four Reserve banks. The advance in the rate at Boston was the signal for a violent downward movement of stock prices. Similar action on the part of the Cleveland bank, and later the rise in the rate in Philadelphia and San Francisco, precipitated still further selling and price depression, a considerable part of which, however, was subsequently regained.

The higher level of rates was due to a rapid expansion of bank credit during the past year, the great bulk of which has been used for financing security transactions.

#### INCOME TAX PAYMENTS

According to figures made public on Nov. 21 by the Internal Revenue Bureau, seventy-four persons paid the United States Government taxes on net incomes of \$1,000,000 and more derived during the calendar year 1924. The increase in the number of persons paying taxes on incomes of \$50,000 and less than \$1,000,000 was 4,620, as compared with the year 1923, and supplied outstanding evidence of the great growth of pros-

perity in this country. The number of incomes from \$50,000 to \$100,000 increased by 3,182 in 1924; those from \$100,000 to \$300,000 by 1,281, and those from \$300,000 to \$1,000,000 by 157. Incomes from \$5,000 to \$50,000 increased by 59,811 in 1924. The number of personal income tax returns of all classes filed up to Sept. 30, 1925, was 7,298,481. The aggregate net income was \$25,023,210,893, and the tax was \$689,134,185. Compared with the previous year, the figures show a decrease of 399,840, or 5.48 per cent., in the number of returns, but an increase of \$183,073,529, or 0.73 per cent., in total net income, and an increase of \$25,482,680, or 3.70 per cent., in the total tax. The average net income was \$3,428.55, the average amount of tax was \$94.42, and the average tax rate was 2.75 per cent.

#### RECORD RAILROAD INCOME

The net operating income of Class 1 railroads in October, made public on Dec. 7, was \$137,699,986, the highest figure for any month to date. This compares with \$134,584,013 for September. The rate of return was 5.97 per cent. on the tentative valuation of the roads—\$20,500,000,000—after making allowances for seasonal variations. The net operating income for October, based on property valuation by the Bureau of Railway Economics, totals \$137,699,986 at the annual rate of 5.23 per cent.

#### SAVINGS OF CHRISTMAS CLUBS

Christmas savings through Christmas clubs for 1925 were \$314,154,800, or 25 per cent. larger than for 1924, it was announced on Nov. 18. This amount was distributed late in November by 6,800 banks, which cooperate for the purpose of accumulating money for holiday purposes.

#### BUSINESS FAILURES

Insolvencies in the United States for November numbered 1,672, with liabilities of \$35,922,421, compared with insolvencies of 1,581 in October, with an indebtedness of \$29,543,870 and 1,653 for November, 1924, with liabilities of \$31,123,910.

#### SECURITIES MARKET

The Government's December financing program, announced by the Treasury Department on Dec. 6, consisted of an offering of about \$450,000,000 of one-year  $3\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. Treasury certificates of in-

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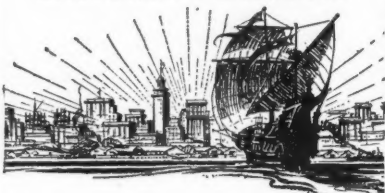
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debtedness, dated and bearing interest from Dec. 15, 1925. In making the announcement Secretary Mellon stated that about \$480,000,000 of Treasury notes and certificates of indebtedness became payable on Dec. 15. The new issue of certificates was intended to meet these obligations and, with the balance already on hand and the December tax receipts, to cover the Treasury's further cash requirements until March, when further financing would be necessary. On Nov. 26 Secretary Mellon announced the intention of the Treasury Department to purchase third liberty loan bonds direct from the holders of such securities to an aggregate amount of \$50,000,000 if offered below or at 101½ and accrued interest. This departure in Government finance was to determine the feasibility of making such purchases for the cumulative sinking fund directly from the holders of such bonds, thereby saving commission charges to both sellers and the Treasury.

Mr. Mellon was credited with stating on Dec. 3 that, generally speaking, there was not any outstanding inflation or boom in stocks and that he did not believe speculation at present was dangerous. He was reported to have said that he doubted if the average price of stocks today, compared with the average price before the war, say 1914, showed any greater change than the change in the value of the dollar. He explained that as the value of the dollar moved, the stock market would generally be found to move likewise.

The issuance of the \$100,000,000 loan to the Kingdom of Italy in the latter half of November increased the total of new bond offerings for that month to \$380,788,000, the highest figure since June, when \$472,434,000 bonds were offered to the public. November thus became the fourth largest month of 1925 in volume of new offerings. For the eleven months of 1925 these offerings in this market made the substantial total of \$3,958,950,396, and the total for the full year was expected to be well in excess of \$4,000,000,000. Foreign offerings at the end of eleven months aggregated \$903,131,000, compared with \$803,977,500 for utilities, the second largest group. Municipal bonds were third with \$733,415,306; industrial bonds fourth, \$589,062,000, and railroads fifth, \$389,133,000.

One of the interesting developments in the securities field was the attitude of the American market toward the proffered German potash syndicate loan of \$50,000,000. As a consequence of the objections raised by the Secretary of Commerce to loans of American funds to stabilize the prices of commodities not raised in this country, it was reported, New York felt compelled to give way to London in respect to this loan, which was eagerly taken there.

Among the outstanding security offerings of the month were the following: \$7,500,000 bonds of the Good Hope Steel and Iron Works of Germany; \$5,000,000 State of Bremen, Germany, bonds, of which offering \$750,000 was withdrawn



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The reason is obvious. Only the very highest type of first mortgage bonds are guaranteed, for only those houses which have absolute faith in their bonds can afford to guarantee them.

Every Adair First Mortgage Bond bears the unconditional guarantee of this company. Our entire capital and surplus exceeding two million dollars stands squarely behind each and every bond we offer.

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Adair Guaranteed Bonds may also be insured against loss by one of the strongest surety companies in America for a small annual premium.

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for issue in Holland and \$500,000 in Switzerland; \$7,500,000 bonds of the Westphalia United Electric Power Corporation, one of the most important producers and distributors of electricity in Germany; \$3,000,000 bonds of the City of Duisburg, the centre of the Ruhr iron industry; \$10,000,000 debentures of the German General Electric Company; \$4,000,000 bonds of the Brunner Turbine and Equipment Company, one of the oldest and most important industrial corporations of Czechoslovakia; \$10,000,000 bonds of the International Power Securities Corporation, formerly the Italian Power Company, secured by a first mortgage on all the hydroelectric plants of the Edison General Italian Electric Company of Milan, Italy; \$21,000,000 bonds of the Province of Ontario, Canada; \$12,500,000 United Light and Power Company, a public utility of the Middle West; \$10,500,000 bonds of the Savoy-Plaza Corporation, New York; \$14,825,000 bonds of the City of Los Angeles, Cal.; \$23,900,000 bonds of the City of Philadelphia, and \$18,000,000 bonds of the Massachusetts Gas Companies.

Bonds called for payment in December in advance of maturity reflected the easy money market because most of them were being replaced by lower coupon rate bonds. The total for the month was \$52,322,200, compared with \$50,038,260 in December, 1924. Bonds called for payment in 1925 broke all previous records. The total for the year thus far was \$812,540,220, contrasted with \$764,262,200 in 1922, the next highest year.

## GREAT BRITAIN

There was a steady, moderate demand on the part of British investors for American securities, which began about a fortnight before the recent lifting of the embargo on foreign issues. Subsequently the demand became more vigorous. One million dollars' worth of gold was shipped from the London office of a Canadian bank to its Halifax branch at the beginning of December, which was noteworthy as being the first gold sent from England to Canada since the close of the war.

## FRANCE

It was announced on Dec. 7 that 200,000 square meters of State-owned land within Paris was to be sold by the French Government to help in the financial recovery of France. This sale, it was explained, would be only the beginning of an extensive realization of State lands and property. Some of the land was formerly part of the royal estates.

## HOLLAND

An interesting change in the financial situation in Holland was marked by the introduction late in November, for the first time since the war, of gold coin for free circulation in the form of ten-guilder pieces. During a single fortnight the stock of gold in the Netherlands Bank increased 21,000,000 guilders, practically all due to gold imports from England.



# TRAVEL DEPARTMENT



## OF CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE

**M**ORE persons were transported across the Atlantic Ocean during 1925 than in any year since the World War, according to official statistics which were made public in New York on Jan. 10. The figures showed that 732,151 passengers were carried, as against 585,471 in 1924, a gain of 146,680. The increase manifested itself in all classes and on both eastbound and westbound ships.

\* \* \*

The transatlantic transportation figures created somewhat of a surprise in shipping circles, the increase being much greater than was expected. The figures for the two years are so interesting as to warrant reproduction in full:

1924.				
	First Class.	Cabin.	Second Class.	Third Class.
West .....	86,172	53,899	103,963	121,396
East .....	83,876	46,705	66,561	137,369
1925.				
	First Class.	Cabin.	Second Class.	Third Class.
West .....	89,008	76,793	114,255	181,236
East .....	90,266	55,931	68,631	152,228
Gain.				
West .....	2,836	20,894	10,292	59,840
East .....	6,390	9,226	2,070	14,859

\* \* \*

Tourist patronage of the French Riviera increased steadily throughout the early Winter, and in January it was predicted that the season would be a banner one. Many new features served to attract visitors to Cannes, Nice and Monte Carlo. Baccarat became more popular, with the result that many new gambling places were established. In some cases the gambling promoters took over ancient French Chateaux and converted them into "baccarat palaces."

\* \* \*

Interest of business men who were traveling in England during the month centred upon the British Industries Fair which was scheduled to be held from Feb. 15 to 21 in London and Birmingham. The fair had been arranged on a scale far surpassing any of its predecessors, and it was expected that the attendance would exceed that at any previous exhibition of the kind. In order to facilitate travel and to encourage business men of other countries to attend the fair, the British Government announced on Jan. 1 that visas would be issued gratis to all bona fide buyers who should be traveling to England to visit the fair.

\* \* \*

The year 1925 was a notable one in road construction in the United States, according to

the annual report of T. H. McDonald, Chief of the United States Bureau of Public Roads, which was made public in Washington early in January. Mr. McDonald offered some information of considerable interest to motorists. During the past fiscal year 11,328 miles of Federal-aid highways were built, this total exceeding by 30 per cent. the mileage completed in 1924. Forty-three per cent. of these roads were built in that part of the United States which is contained in the following States: Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah and Nevada.

\* \* \*

The unusually severe Winter was welcomed by sport lovers in the Alpine district. Davos, Switzerland, always a popular resort, has been crowded since early in November. Davos has enjoyed three months of uninterrupted ice skating, which is a record, even for that favored resort. The months of November, December and January, were notable for numerous hockey contests. The outstanding event, however, was the ice hockey championship of Europe in January. This event excited interest throughout Europe and drew throngs of sport lovers to Davos. This resort also enjoyed considerable curling, skiing and tobogganing.

\* \* \*

The Winter attractions of Canada drew large numbers of tourists to the various pleasure resorts of the Dominion during January and February. The number of tourists was reported to be slightly in advance of last season, but not quite up to expectations, in view of the Canada Winter Resort Campaign which was conducted last Summer and Fall. The chief hotel owners of Canada are still confident, however, that more sport lovers can be lured to the Dominion during the Winter months. They claim that the skiing, ice skating, tobogganing, and other attractions of the Canadian Winter are unexcelled anywhere.

\* \* \*

A notable feature of the Winter's travel was the increasing numbers of visitors to the Hawaiian Islands and the Orient. The recent campaign to popularize Hawaii as a haven for Americans during the cold months resulted in a stimulation

Continued on Page xxxvi.



## SCOTLAND by the "FLYING SCOTSMAN"

The most famous train in Europe traverses that magic thread through Britain—the LONDON AND NORTH EASTERN RAILWAY!

From Edinburgh, "The Modern Athens" and Scotland's charming capitol, the LONDON AND NORTH EASTERN RAILWAY branches out to both coasts of Scotland—through the Trossachs country and into the wild beauty of the Scottish Highlands. It serves St. Andrews and a host of other world-famed golf courses. And its network of rails is fairly dotted with inland spas and seaside resorts.

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OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

of eastward traffic. The claims of Hawaii, as regards Winter attractions, are not without warrant. The weather there is usually mild, often balmy, and the scenery is unsurpassed anywhere in the tropical regions.

\* \* \*

Meanwhile, those of a more tropical inclination turned to the warm weather zones. California was reported to be enjoying a normal Winter season. Florida was still exhilarated by its "boom," and made daily announcements of the opening of new resorts on both coasts of the peninsula. The Caribbean countries, always attractive in February, were visited by a considerable number of Northerners during that month. Porto Rico and Panama were second only to Cuba in popularity.

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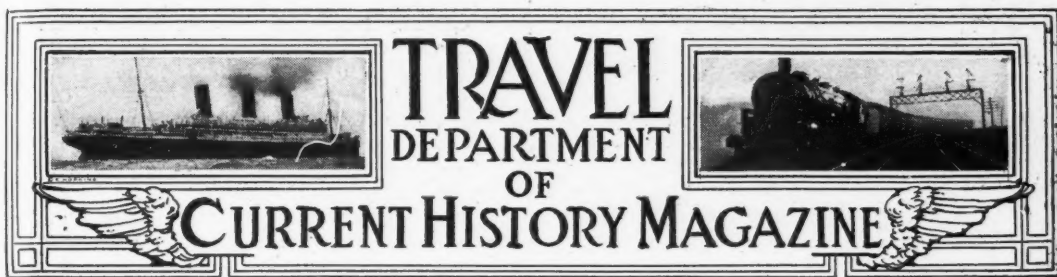
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**A**N unusually severe Winter stimulated tourist activity at the European centres of snow and ice sports during December and January. Even before the holiday season, indeed, skating and sleighing were in vogue in Central England. Many Americans visited Switzerland and enjoyed the skiing, which was especially good at St. Moritz.

\* \* \*

A notable feature of the Winter was the development of Vienna as a centre for cold-weather sports. Dispatches from that city early in December reported that excellent conditions for skating and skiing obtained both in Tyrol and in the neighborhood of Vienna proper. Skating began in Vienna about Dec. 1. Heavy snow followed several weeks of severe frost, with the result that skiing became the vogue. Tourists availed themselves of the unusual opportunity and participated in skiing festivals in the outskirts of Vienna.

\* \* \*

An active season was reported during January in the tropical and semi-tropical Winter resorts. Large numbers of Northerners flocked to Florida, Bermuda, Havana and the other balmy spots of the Southland. The crowded conditions in Florida during the early Winter abated substantially so far as tourists were concerned. Hotels reported that the congestion was felt almost exclusively by the settler class. It was stated that accommodations could usually be found for tourists who made their reservations a reasonable time in advance.

\* \* \*

Bermuda, ever a popular haunt of Winter travelers, enjoyed a record patronage during the holiday season. Visitors to the islands were much interested in the mooted question of whether Bermuda is to have a railroad. This issue is the principal topic of discussion in Bermuda. Ever since tourist patronage first came to be solicited, Bermuda has advertised itself broadcast with the following slogan: "No motor cars, no railways, no tramcars, no smoke and soot." It is now considered likely that this slogan will have to go into the discard. There is every promise of the early construction of a railroad. It was announced at Hamilton on Dec. 19 that a bill providing for the construction of a light railway, running from one end of the main island to the other, had been passed by both the Assembly and the Legislative

Council and had gone to the Governor for his signature. There was still some question as to whether he would assent to the measure.

\* \* \*

The hotels of Havana, Cuba, and Kingston, Jamaica, entertained a steady stream of Americans during December. There had been much discussion as to whether the sudden increase in the popularity of Florida would adversely affect the tourist trade of Caribbean resorts. According to late figures, however, there has been no perceptible decline in the popularity of these centres.

\* \* \*

The fighting in Syria between the French forces and the Druse and other tribesmen has interrupted tourist traffic in the Near East. Dispatches from Bagdad late in December stated that many European and American travelers who had booked for the cross-desert journey from Damascus had canceled their reservations. The recent raids by tribesmen upon numerous cross-desert convoys had caused general apprehension among travelers, and the cancellations of the bookings was attributed to this uneasiness.

\* \* \*

The slump in tourist travel was a blow to the hotels in Bagdad and other centres of Iraq. A campaign to stimulate tourist traffic had been waged for nine months, and it had been expected that the 1925-26 Winter season would break all records.

\* \* \*

The holiday season attracted an unusually large number of visitors to New York. A notable feature of the Winter in that city was the opening of Tex Rickard's New Madison Square Garden. This huge structure was opened with a series of international hockey matches, which were attended by visitors from all over the United States.

\* \* \*

Hockey was one of the popular December sports in the Adirondack Mountains. The resorts in that region were crowded with devotees of the various outdoor recreations. Lake Placid reported a crowded fortnight for Christmas and New Year's. Skiing was not too plentiful, due to an insufficiency of snow, but there was plenty of skating.

\* \* \*

Transpacific tourist trade became more active,

# EUROPE

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following the announcement in December by several leading steamship lines of important price reductions. One well-known company advertised first-class passages from Los Angeles or San Francisco to Japan via Honolulu for \$230. Other reductions by competing lines were subsequently announced. The drop in prices occasioned much comment, as the transpacific lines had previously maintained a consistently high tariff. When the transatlantic companies began cutting prices last Summer, there was some expectation that those across the continent would follow suit. For the most part, however, the steamship rates to Japan and China were unaffected by the price war here.

\* \* \*

The reductions on transpacific fares provoked speculation as to whether this might be the forerunner of a general price cutting. It was considered significant that the reductions were announced shortly after the trade bodies of the Hawaiian Islands had formally opened their campaign for more tourist trade. Hotelkeepers in Honolulu and other Hawaiian centres feel that if American travelers knew more of Hawaii's attractions, the island would be more generally visited. With this aim in view, a general campaign of “enlightenment” is under way. The campaign is expected to stimulate boat traffic between the Pacific Coast and Hawaii. Steamship men commented that the reduction in rates was a timely move and likely to be mutually beneficial to Hawaii and the steamship lines themselves.

\* \* \*

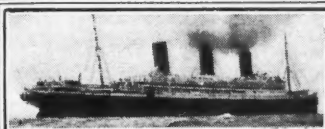
Winter sports continue to attract large numbers of tourists from the United States to Canada. A moderate frost prevailed in most Provinces of the Dominion throughout December, permitting considerable ice skating. January, however, was marked by several snowstorms, which auspiciously opened the skiing season. The sport lovers taxed the capacity of the various resorts. Hotels in the City of Quebec reported capacity houses, as did those in the more northerly cities.

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# TRAVEL DEPARTMENT OF



## CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE

**D**ECEMBER was a month of interesting developments in the field of travel. A feature of importance was the inauguration by the leading hotel owners along the French Riviera of a new drive for American patronage. The hotel men admitted a fear that the increasing popularity of Florida as a Winter rendezvous might divert tourists from Nice, Cannes, Monte Carlo and the other holiday places on the Mediterranean Coast. It was stated that Americans arriving in Nice this Winter have frequently compared hotel accommodations there with the facilities offered them in the new Florida hostleries, much to the disparagement of the French houses.

\*\*\*

The first result of the drive was a general movement for the modernization of all Riviera hotels. These houses are being equipped with the latest improvements, especial attention being paid to sanitary needs. The drive promises to change the complexion of the famous Boulevard des Anglais at Nice. This thoroughfare was originally the exclusive province of hotels; now, however, fashionable apartment houses are being erected along the boulevard, and these are being promptly rented.

\*\*\*

It is understood that the Riviera merchants fear they may suffer a permanent loss of much of their American patronage should the Florida boom grow, or even continue at its present rate. Florida has obvious advantages over the Riviera in accessibility, hotel facilities and cheaper travel, and the French hotel men do not underestimate the importance of their competitor.

\*\*\*

The campaign among German and Austrian trade associations to lift the financial burden which post-war legislation placed upon tourists is being continued successfully. It was announced at Vienna on Nov. 18 that the Socialist City Administration had decided to enact legislation providing for the long-awaited reduction in municipal taxes. The reduction will directly benefit tourists, as it will affect theatres, amusement places and hotel rooms. The hotel room tax had amounted to as much as 60 per cent.; under the new laws this tax will be less than a third. It was announced that the reduction on theatre ticket taxes would be even greater.

Winter cruises continue to be popular among American travelers. An unusually wide choice of bookings was open to prospective tourists during November and December, and the reservations found a ready market. The tours around the world and to the Mediterranean are enjoying their usual vogue. Interest centres, however, upon the cruises which include the Scandinavian countries in their itineraries. The various Winter tours offer especially attractive schedules, including visits to Portugal, Spain, Tangier, Italy, Norway, Sweden and Scotland.

\*\*\*

At a meeting of the North Atlantic Passenger Conference in Paris, during November, it was decided to call the new third-class ratings "Tourist-Third Cabin" and to increase the fares \$15 for the round trip. American tourists who traveled "tourist" during the 1925 season paid \$155 for the round trip between New York and the Continent. The low fares proved especially attractive and more than 50,000 "tourist travelers" were carried across the Atlantic during the season. Under the new schedule, however, the tourist-third cabin round trip rate will be \$170 for the slow ships and \$185 for the larger and faster ships.

\*\*\*

In commenting upon the growing popularity of the tourist rates, steamship agents said that they expected that more than 100,000 Americans would go to Europe in "tourist-third cabins" during the season of 1926, and that there would be a proportionate increase in the same class of travel from Europe to the United States.

\*\*\*

The exodus of northerners to Florida increased through November, and in December a housing shortage was reported in that State. The lack of hotel accommodations was particularly keen in Miami, Fla. To meet the emergency a Boston company was organized to anchor steamers off Miami. It was announced that the steamers would serve as floating hotels to relieve the housing shortage in that city. As the season advanced the housing shortage grew worse, and it was estimated shortly before Christmas that 600,000 visitors and settlers were living in camps.

\*\*\*

It was announced at Seattle, Wash., on Nov.

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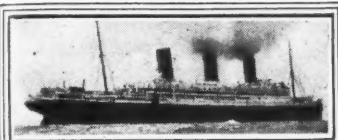
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# TRAVEL DEPARTMENT OF



## CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE

THE automobile tourist has come into his own at last. "Good Roads" campaigns are now under way throughout the United States and Canada, and already much has been achieved toward making the highways more satisfactory. Two notable developments in this field were announced during the early Winter. The Dixie Highway, running from Michigan to Florida, was formally opened in October, the occasion being marked by ceremonies in which Governors and numerous other prominent citizens participated. Completion of the highway had been delayed because of the difficulties of hewing a road through the mountainous regions of Kentucky. The construction of this much needed link united the two divisions, making a straight highway of 1,989 miles. The completed highway gained instant popularity, due largely to the "Florida rush." Thousands of motorists who were bound for the South utilized the new road during November, and it was expected that last season's total of 180,000 tourists in the Southern States would be exceeded before the end of the 1925-1926 season.

\* \* \*

The second development in the campaign for better roads was the announcement at Ottawa by the Canadian Commissioner of Highways, A. W. Campbell, that the Windsor-Montreal Highway would be ready for use by the end of next Summer. Mr. Campbell stated that there were now 650,000 automobiles in operation on Canadian roads and that nearly 2,000,000 cars crossed the border into Canada during 1924. Canada's good road program provides for continued construction for the next five years, by which time, Mr. Campbell said, the Dominion's road facilities would be adequate.

\* \* \*

With the advent of Winter, Florida became virtually a Mecca for Northerners. Every method of transportation was utilized—train, automobile, steamship, airplane—to carry the thousands of vacationists and settlers who were attracted thither. The railroad and steamship companies found their accommodations so taxed on all divisions south of Virginia that special arrangements were made for those going through to Miami, or other points at the extreme south of Florida.

The attractions of the Winter season brought many visitors to New York during November. The hotel managers reported an unusually large demand for accommodations. Many of the visitors were travelers to and from Europe, who took advantage of the occasion for a stop-over in New York. In addition, however, the hotels entertained large numbers of Westerners who came for extended periods. The demand upon the hotels became acute during Thanksgiving Day week, and a dozen of the best houses announced that they were 100 per cent. booked.

\* \* \*

American tourists continued their travels in Europe to an unusually late date this year. This was ascribed to the improved facilities for transportation and better hotel accommodation on the Continent.

\* \* \*

Automobile touring is growing in popularity in Great Britain. The British Automobile Association announced in October that, during the four Summer months of 1925, the association's touring department issued 203,000 itineraries, as against 143,000 during the same period in 1924. The 1925 total of itineraries represented an aggregate mileage of nearly 76,000,000.

\* \* \*

The German Postoffice Department has joined forces with the civic bodies in their campaign to bring more tourists to Germany. It was announced at Berlin in November that the Department would print postcards bearing stamp-size pictures of famous scenic spots in Germany, in a hope of attracting travelers from foreign lands. The pictures will be the same color as the stamp, and will extend across the top of the address side, thus avoiding interference with the script.

\* \* \*

The number of American visitors to Spain during the first nine months of 1925 reached unprecedented figures, according to an announcement made by officials of the Spanish Government. It was stated that between 35,000 and 45,000 Americans visited Spain during this period, as against only 3,000 during the entire year of 1924. The Government formally thanked Mr. Moore, the American Ambassador, for his help in bringing tourists to Spain.

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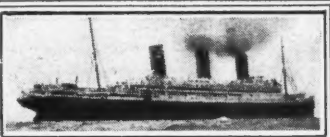
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# TRAVEL DEPARTMENT OF CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE



**T**RANSATLANTIC steamship lines continue to feel the pressure of tourist traffic until late in October. Americans who had spent the Summer in Europe began to turn homeward in August. The influx grew steadily through September, reaching its peak on Sept. 21, when sixteen steamships arrived at New York with 8,566 passengers. New York port officials declared the past Summer to have broken all records as regards tourist traffic. They said that Sept. 21 was "the biggest day in shipping in the history of the Port of New York." The ships arriving on that day included the United States liner *Leviathan*, which had a record passenger list of 2,724. The incoming vessels brought passengers from England, Germany, France, Italy and other countries.

\* \* \*

With the opening of the Bermuda season came the news that plans are being made for the construction of a railroad across the main island. The news excited much comment, as Bermuda's boast has long been that "no mechanical vehicle except the bicycle" was allowed on the island. It was explained that the railroad project is as yet tentative. The first draft of the plan has been approved by the island authorities, but further action is dependent upon the raising of capital. The automobile and the tramway car are still forbidden in Bermuda.

\* \* \*

Competition between California and Florida for the Winter patronage of Americans living in the Northeastern States promises to be keen during the coming season. The publicity experts of both States began their activities in September. It was evident that Florida would make especial efforts to attract visitors from such Eastern cities as New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. The Floridians have completed plans for an extensive advertising campaign, in which they will capitalize the short distance between Florida and the North as against the five-day trip to California. Special literature, reciting the mid-winter charms of Florida—January bathing, boating, fishing and so forth—has been prepared for special distribution.

\* \* \*

The Canadian Rockies may become a rival to the Alps as an attraction for Winter tourists who enjoy the snow sports. Chambers of Commerce and other Dominion bodies are organizing to arrange a campaign to advertise Canada as a

Winter playground. The authorities feel that Canada has fully as much to offer as Switzerland in the way of ice skating, skiing and snow-shoeing, and they are confident that a properly arranged campaign during the 1925-26 season would permanently make Canada a resort for American tourists looking for Winter sports amid surroundings of great natural beauty.

\* \* \*

Reports that the number of tourists who visited Canada during the past Summer had broken all records were confirmed in September. The customs officials at Sarnia, Ontario, announced that from Jan. 1 to Aug. 25 26,521 thirty-day permits had been issued to bona fide tourists, as against 18,640 for the same period last year, representing an increase of nearly 50 per cent.

\* \* \*

Indications point to a busy Winter season in Central and South America. Among the Central American countries, the West Indies and Cuba are expected to prove the most popular with tourists. Cuban authorities have made arrangements to accommodate a record number of visitors from the United States and Canada. It was stated by leading hotel owners in Havana that the number of Winter tourists from the North has risen steadily since the war and that hotel accommodations in that city have been increased in anticipation of an unusually active season during 1925-26.

\* \* \*

World tours continue to attract Winter travelers. Schedules for the 1925-26 season were announced by some agencies as early as Sept. 15. Reservations came in rapidly, and it became evident in October that the number of world tourists this year would equal, if not exceed, preceding seasons. The tours, as announced to date, offer a wide range of choices. All carry the usual stop-over privileges and some also of optional changes in itinerary.

\* \* \*

The campaign of hotel owners and merchants in Germany to stimulate tourist travel in that country has been hit by the news that the Government plans to enforce an old law taxing travelers' checks at the rate of 25 cents on each \$100. The hotel owners and merchants had succeeded in securing the abolition of various taxes imposed on tourists, and hoped thereby to increase tourist patronage in Germany. The decision to enforce the tax on checks was announced on Oct. 1.



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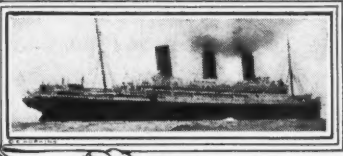
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# TRAVEL DEPARTMENT OF CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE



WITH the advent of Autumn, some interesting statistical results have become available as regards tourist travel during the past Summer. The figures confirm the prediction that the season of 1925 would break all records. The great increase in travel was felt by steamship, railroad and air lines, and also was manifest in an unprecedented volume of motor traffic in America and Europe.

Perhaps the most notable exodus of American automobile tourists was to Canada. It was announced at Toronto on Aug. 25 that during the three months of June, July and August, more than 800,000 motor cars had entered Canada at Niagara Falls. Experts estimated that the influx of Americans into Canada was 50 per cent. greater during the 1925 season than last year. To appreciate the magnitude of the Canada-United States tourist traffic, it must be remembered that the 800,000 cars mentioned were only a portion of the large number of automobiles containing parties from the United States entering Canada at various points along the transcontinental border during the Summer.

\* \* \*

The Canadian tourist season was the greatest in the history of that Dominion. Mr. Theodore G. Morgan, President of the Montreal Tourist and Convention Bureau, reported to that organization on Aug. 7, that, encouraged by the prosperous Summer, the Bureau was planning a big campaign for Winter tourists. Canada, he pointed out, had much to offer Winter tourists in the way of cold weather sports. He added that since 1919, the Bureau has distributed in the leading countries of the world nearly 1,000,000 pieces of literature.

\* \* \*

The ever-increasing popularity of automobile vacations has added to the United States Government's problems of road construction. It was announced at Washington on Aug. 6 that during the year ending June 30, a total of 9,445 miles of Federal aid highways were built at a total cost of \$190,485,399 of which the Federal Government paid \$87,801,946. The statement showed that the States most active in road building were Texas, Illinois and South Dakota.

\* \* \*

Tourist travel to the Hawaiian and Philippine Islands showed a substantial increase during re-

cent months. Civic associations in both the Pacific Island groups are eager to develop an all-year tourist patronage, and have launched campaigns with this end in view. The campaign literature lays emphasis on the evenness of temperature and absence of cold weather.

\* \* \*

The emphatic measures taken by Germany, officially and otherwise, to encourage tourists to visit that country, proved effective during the Summer. It was stated that 3,500 Americans visited Berlin during July—a new record for post-war years. The Government later took further steps to stimulate tourist travel. The Reichstag on Aug. 7, abolished the 10 per cent. Federal lodging tax and also ruled that municipalities and communes might not impose any such tax on their own behalf. It was expected that this action would result in a general reduction of hotel rates throughout Germany. It was announced in Berlin on Aug. 27 that an agreement had been concluded between the United States and German Governments providing for the reciprocal abolition of visa charges for tourists' passports.

\* \* \*

The great influx of American visitors to England excited considerable comment in the leading British newspapers during August and September. The press rejoiced at the interest shown by Americans in what is for many of them the "old country." The London Times, on Aug. 18, published a lengthy article on this topic, pointing out that, due to the Americans, "August, once regarded as a dead season in London, is now becoming a very 'live month.'" Streets were crowded with pedestrians and vehicular traffic to an extent never before known in the British metropolis. The writer added that, previously most of the American Summer visitors to England spent June and July in London, but that this year August was the most crowded month. "Americans visited London in thousands during August, and many of them brought their own motor cars to tour the country." The article contains the interesting note that, during a Summer visit of American warships to the British coast, scores of American sailors who were given shore leave devoted the time to "searching for the homes of their ancestors."

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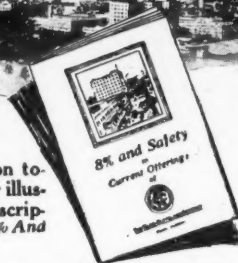
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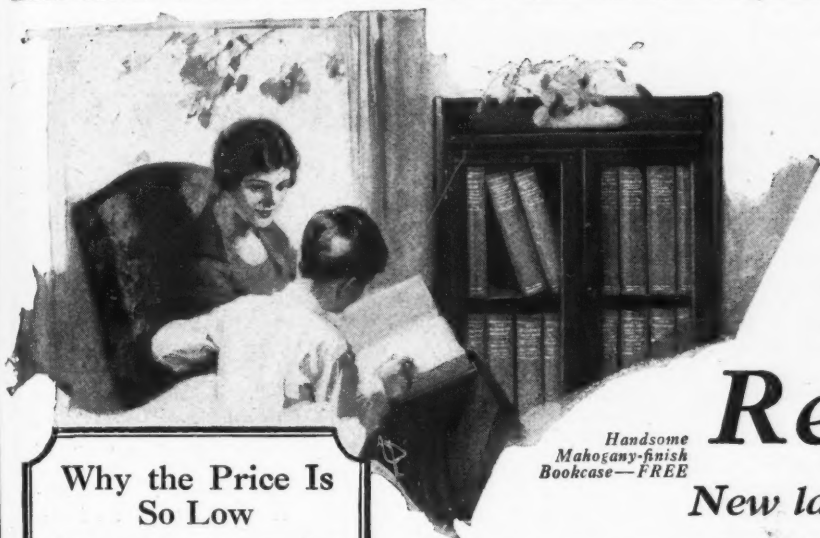
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**SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1920-1923.** By Arnold J. Toynbee. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch.

Professor Toynbee's new work on international affairs treats "not of States, but of relations between States, with the relations between States as the units." As a digest of world events the book is a fine achievement in scholarship. Every international issue during the four years in question is dealt with. Out of a multiplicity of topics, involving virtually every nation, the author has contrived a lucid presentation of the world during the reconstruction period. The book is published under the auspices of the British Institute of International Affairs.

**THE PROBLEM OF INTERNATIONAL SANCTIONS.** By D. Mitrany. Oxford University Press.

The importance of this pamphlet of 88 pages is that it "has grown out of a memorandum written last Winter for use of the American group led by Professor James T. Shotwell, which was responsible for the valuable Draft of a Treaty of Security and Disarmament." It will be remembered that this proposed treaty initiated the important discussions which have been going on ever since. Mr. Mitrany, who handles his subject with genuine literary excellence and the most praiseworthy balance, is an expert on international affairs who deserves to be listened to just because his work has been influential in helping the statesmen of the world to see what they are driving at in their quest for peace. "Sanctions," as Mr. Mitrany points out, "really are the crux of the difficulties which clog our efforts to organize peace." The concluding chapter is devoted to American policy in the matter, with which the author has made himself acquainted at first hand by study and investigation in this country.

**THE ORIGINS OF PROHIBITION.** By John A. Krout. New York: Knopf. \$3.50.

Mr. Krout, who is a member of the History Department at Columbia University, has made a contribution to American social history that meets a long-felt want. Naturally, a movement so important as that which led to an amendment to the United States Constitution must have had a background in the conditions of American life calling for careful historical study. This is the

task which Mr. Krout has undertaken and performed in a manner altogether creditable to the scholarship we associate with the historians of Columbia University. He has woven into a well-ordered narrative the various circumstances which from the earliest days of "social concern over the intemperate use of intoxicants" until the present time have entered into the campaign to make people sober by law. To the student who desires to arrive at a well-balanced view of the controversy still raging Mr. Krout's book is an indispensable source of information.

**THE CONSOLIDATION OF RAILROADS.** By Walter M. W. Splawn. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$3.

Professor Splawn takes the conservative side on the mooted question of what to do with the railroads. He is candid in his opposition to compulsory consolidation, which he sees as a forerunner to Government ownership. He asks whether it would not be better "to permit a normal, natural development of railway systems under competent public regulation than to force an arbitrary, radical, revolutionary and perhaps cataclysmic series of combinations."

**WINGED DEFENSE: The Developments and Possibilities of Modern Air Power, Economic and Military.** By William Mitchell. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Colonel Mitchell, whose criticisms of the air policy of the United States Government resulted in his removal from the position of assistant chief of the Air Force, has collected his speeches and writings in book form. The work is essentially a plea for a unification and expansion of the air force as a weapon of national defense.

**EVOLUTION FOR JOHN DOE.** By Henshaw Ward. Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill Company.

Mr. Ward's book is designed to satisfy the growing popular curiosity regarding the theory of evolution. The author presents his facts in a narrative which carries the reader through all the ramifications of the evolutionary principle.

**MOVEMENTS IN EUROPEAN HISTORY.** By D. H. Lawrence. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch. \$1.50.

The well-known English novelist here breaks new ground as a writer by coming forward as the



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**BRITISH POLITICS IN TRANSITION.** By Edward McChesney Salt and David P. Barrows. Yonkers, N. Y.: World Book Company. \$1.80.

This contribution to the Government Handbook Series is a study of the history and trend of British politics as they manifest themselves in the organization of contemporary Government in Great Britain. The book is interesting for its chapters on "The Monarch" and "The Cabinet," wherein is shown the gradual decrease of monarchical power and the corresponding increase in the authority of Parliament and the Cabinet.

**THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE: Its Constitution, Procedure and Work.** By Alexander P. Fachiri. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch.

Observing that the Permanent Court of International Justice "is now an established institution with a substantial record of judicial work to its credit," Mr. Fachiri analyzes the operations of this tribunal so as to form a valuable general study of the history and achievements of the court. The text is supplemented by an appendix, containing the English text of important documents relating to the constitution and proceedings of the court.

**BRITISH ARCHIVES AND THE SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR.** By Hubert Hall. New York: Oxford University Press.

This latest contribution to the British series, "Economic and Social History of the World War," which is being published on behalf of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, is an extensive reference book for historians. Mr. Hall discusses the history of British war records, their relative importance, and their availability for historians.

**CAN BUSINESS PREVENT UNEMPLOYMENT?** A Symposium. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Two merchants, Sam A. Lewisohn, copper operator, and Ernest G. Draper, corporation executive, and two economists, Professor John R. Commons of the Department of Economics, University of Wisconsin, and Don D. Leschier of the same university, discuss the unemployment question and the relation of business thereto. The authors generally agree that unemployment is preventable and that it is bad from a business standpoint. They recommended continuous employment of the workers as a means to stimulate trade and increase profits.

**MANCHURIA: A Survey.** By Adachi Kinno-suke. New York: Robert M. McBride & Co.

Mr. Kinno-suke reviews the history of Manchuria in the light of its social, political and

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**UNCONVENTIONAL MEMORIES. EUROPE-PERSIA-JAPAN.** By Ralph Nevill. New York: George H. Doran & Co. \$6.

Mr. Nevill's reminiscences are interesting chiefly for their pictures of British diplomacy; pen portraits of individuals add to the charm of his chronicles. As an aristocrat and one "born to the Foreign Office," he was early admitted to the confidences of statesmen. Mr. Nevill was on terms of close friendship with Mr. Gladstone and his book contains many intimate glimpses of the personality of the "Grand Old Man."

**SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF BUSINESS CYCLES.** By Maurice B. Hexter. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

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**OVER THE HILLS OF RUTHENIA.** By Henry Baerlein. New York: Boni & Liveright.

Beginning with Uzhorod, the Ruthenian capital, which is located near Eger, on the frontier of the new Czechoslovak Republic, the author carries the reader into the very heart of the region almost exclusively inhabited by Ruthenes, who are scattered through Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria and the Ukraine. Mr. Baerlein attempts no analysis of the political problems involved, but contents himself with a broad presentation of Ruthenian social life, frequently enlivened by touches of humor.

**THEN AND NOW: Economic Problems After the War a Hundred Years Ago.** By Mrs. H. A. L. Fisher. New York: Oxford University Press.

David Lloyd George, former Prime Minister of Great Britain, observes in an introduction to this book that we can more clearly understand our problems of today if we measure them against the problems which confronted previous generations under approximately similar circumstances. Mrs. Fisher analyzes the outstanding post-war problems of Great Britain, devoting special attention to economic issues and the present entanglements of finance and currency.

**AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP: A Series of Addresses by Distinguished Americans Given Under the Auspices of the Committee on American Citizenship of the American Bar Association.** New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company.

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**WHITHER ENGLAND?** By Leon Trotsky.  
New York: International Publishers.

The purpose of this provoking contribution to the study of the larger aspects of world politics by the Russian revolutionary is explained in a preface which Trotsky has written specially for the just-published American edition. Part of this pronouncement reads:

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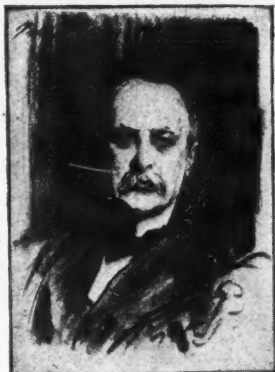
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**THE CHOICE OF A COLLEGE.** By W. W. Comfort. New York: Macmillan.

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**THE GREAT PACIFIC WAR.** A History of the American-Japanese Campaign of 1931-33. By Hector C. Bywater. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

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istics of which are still in evidence—this concise narrative will be a useful reminder of the fact that history is essentially continuous. History makes no startling leaps, and it will probably be many generations before the term "mediaeval" can be universally employed as it is by the advance guard in thought.

**A HISTORY OF ENGLAND.** By Hilaire Belloc.  
 New York: Putnams. \$3.75.

The well-known English essayist and historical writer begins in this volume a new history of England. The first volume covers Pagan and Catholic England from the landing of Julius Caesar to the Battle of Hastings in 1066 A. D. Mr. Belloc writes, of course, from his own special standpoint and endeavors to show that the chief political and social developments in national history are religious in origin—a conclusion that will be stoutly opposed by the apostles of more materialistic interpretations.

**ON HIS MAJESTY'S SERVICE.** By Prince Reichstadt-Napoleon V. Albany, N. Y.: The Champlain Historic Publishing Company.

A war veteran of distinguished lineage and much daring tells of his experience during the World War. The story is vividly written and well illustrated with photographs.

**THE EARLY HISTORY OF MAPLEDURHAM.**  
 By the Rev. A. H. Cooke. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch.  
 \$4.20.

Mapledurham is perhaps the most interesting of the early English villages on the Thames that have come down through the centuries unspoiled. The author traces the history of the village from the tenth century through to the early nineteenth, so that the story is a survey of nine centuries.

**TRAVEL IN ENGLAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.** By Joan Parkes. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch. \$7.

Highwaymen, execrable roads and ill-constructed carriages—these were the chief enemies of travelers in England in the seventeenth century. The author adds, however, that the voyager had many compensations; early England was a picturesque place for travel—with adventure waiting around the corner and kindly hosts ready to welcome one at every inn.

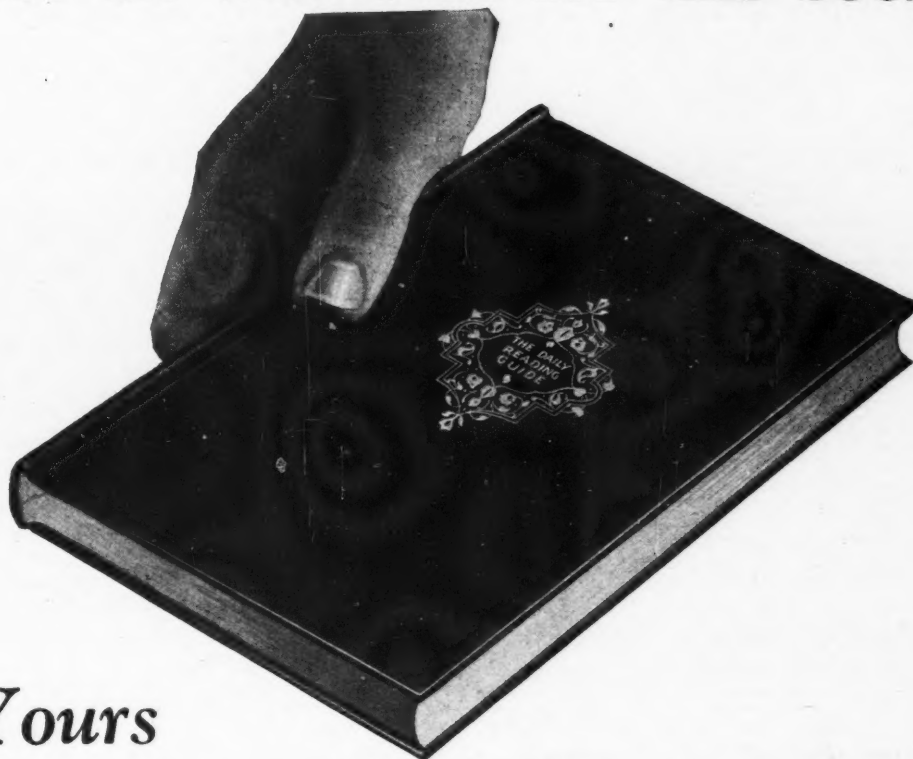
**THE HOME AND SCHOOL IDEA IN EDUCATION.** By Raymond E. Manchester. Menasha, Wis.: The Collegiate Press.

Present tendencies in education and the relation of the individual to the State are among the topics discussed by Mr. Manchester in this brief essay; the author philosophizes at length and calls, in substance, for a return of the old moralities.

**MEMOIRS OF AN EDITOR: Fifty Years of American Journalism.** By Edward P. Mitchell. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

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power. He wielded great influence in national politics and his memoirs contain much that is revelatory of the "inner shrines" in the great Presidential campaigns of bygone days.

EUROPE OVERSEAS. By James A. Williamson. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch.

This latest addition to the World's Manuals Series constitutes an up-to-date history of the Asiatic and American dominions of the various European powers. Prepared primarily for the student, the book also has its value for the general reader.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE COLD-STREAM GUARDS. By G. Davies. New York: American Branch, Oxford University Press.

A considerable body of hitherto unpublished material is written into this new history of the famous British regiment. The author carries his readers back to the Civil War and the war in Scotland, 1650-59, and traces the growth of the Guards through succeeding years.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE RACE PROBLEM. By J. H. Oldham, M. A., New York: George H. Doran Company.

No question is today more energetically discussed or of more vital importance to the world generally than the problem of racial distribution. Mr. Oldham, Secretary of the International Missionary Council, reviews the issue from a theological standpoint. His attitude is broad and his presentation interesting.

A GRINGO IN MANANA-LAND. By Harry L. Foster. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

This book on Mexico is unconventional and sketchy. Despite his unusual method of approach, however, Mr. Foster succeeds in presenting a highly instructive picture of social and political conditions. The republic to our south is not glorified in these pages, but it comes close to one's heart as a nation battling with internal problems not unlike those of our own early history.

MEMOIRS AND ADVENTURES. By Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown & Co.

The celebrated creator of Sherlock Holmes delves into the past and recounts the outstanding events of a rich, colorful life. Literary, political and diplomatic persons of distinction have long been his friends, and their personalities lend additional interest to a readable volume.

THE LIFE STORY OF AN UGLY DUCKLING. By Marie Dressler. New York: Robert M. McBride.

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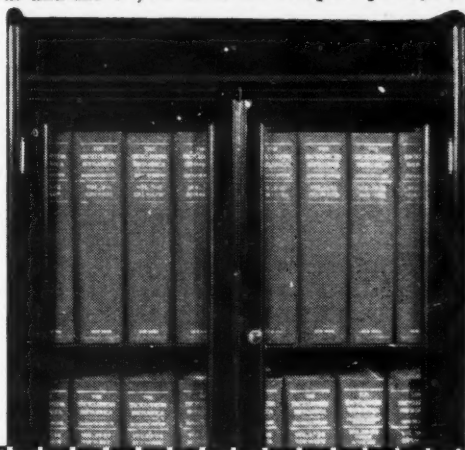
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As Great Britain's Foreign Secretary during the years immediately preceding the World War, and also during the first years of that conflict, Earl Grey occupies an important position among the statesmen of his times. His memoirs are candid and revelatory, for he writes frankly of his own activities and the activities of other statesmen in relation thereto during a quarter of a century of great events. There is little expression of personal opinion. Earl Grey confines himself austere to a recital of events and their origins. The book is most interesting for the light it throws upon the "era of suspicion" that preceded the developments that led to the catastrophe of 1914. Earl Grey offers no direct defense of his own policies, relying upon his actions to justify themselves. He does, however, unbend to comment that his book is primarily an address to "the new generation," by which, he hopes, it will "be read, not to be refuted or acclaimed, but to be understood."

**ANNAPOLIS: Its Colonial and Naval Story.** By Walter B. Norris. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company.

Mr. Norris traces the history of Annapolis through three centuries. His picture of the famous Maryland city as a Colonial settlement in 1642 is especially interesting. The text is illustrated with etchings and drawings by Eugene P. Metour and Vernon Howe Bailey, respectively.

**THE QUEBEC ACT: A Study in Statesmanship.** By R. Coupland. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch. \$3.50.

Professor Coupland's book is more comprehensive than the title would suggest. He regards the enactment of the Quebec act in 1774 as signaling the birth of Canada, and with that as his text proceeds to study the development of the Dominion along racial and political lines. The French-Canadian question is the foremost problem confronting modern Canada, according to Professor Coupland:

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The elimination of French nationality would

be no adequate solution, he holds; "such," he writes, "would be a crime against Canadians of all time":

Canada is richer for its twofold national heritage. \* \* \* There is a better understanding between French and British Canadians today than ever since 1837, and only the blackest pessimists can refuse to believe that in due course of time Canada will grow into a unity as real and lasting as the unity of Britain.

**THE SELBORNE MEMORANDUM: A Review of the Mutual Relations of the British South African Colonies in 1907.** With an introduction by Basil Williams. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch. \$2.50.

The Union of South Africa has made great strides since the publication by Lord Selborne in 1907 of his now famous "Review of the Present Mutual Relations of the British South African Colonies." The value of this document in stimulating the sentiment which resulted at last in the unification of South Africa has won for it a permanent place in history. The memorandum is here reproduced in its entirety with the texts of numerous other documents which bear on the same question. Professor Williams, in his introduction, tells the story of the Selborne paper, its origin and significance.

**NOTES AND ANECDOTES OF MANY YEARS.** By Joseph Bucklin Bishop. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.50.

Joseph Bucklin Bishop joined The New York Tribune staff in 1870. During the fifty-five years that followed he won a wide reputation as journalist, editor and author, and gained, moreover, the permanent friendship of many American celebrities. His new book is a memory-trove wherein one meets Theodore Roosevelt, John Hay, Horace Greeley, Henry Ward Beecher, Major Gen. George W. Goethals and others. The anecdotes are simply told and replete with historic interest.

**THE WORLD AFTER THE PEACE CONFERENCE.** By Arnold J. Toynbee. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch. \$1.75.

Mr. Toynbee announces his book as an "epilogue to 'The History of the Peace Conference of Paris' and a prologue to 'The Survey of International Affairs, 1920-1923.'" The volume is, in fact, a study of international affairs of today, with particular regard to the changes brought about during

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the Reconstruction Period. Mr. Toynbee sees a definite world trend toward socialization, which he attributes to the unrest that was our heritage following "the vortex of destruction" from 1914 to 1918.

FROM MELBOURNE TO MOSCOW. By G. C. Dixon. Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown & Co.

An Australian journalist crosses the world "in search of life, color and adventure," and these 318 pages tell of the success of his enterprise. Mr. Dixon went casually from China to Japan, to Siberia, and finally through Russia to England. He writes spiritedly of his experiences

and gives an interesting picture of Bolshevized Russia, where he spent a considerable time. The following sentences from his chapter on Russia is worth quoting: "If Bolshevism has done nothing else it has made a nation think. In every field of activity in Russia you find restless experiment, constant change and a vague groping after a workable economic system and a new way of life."

THE DOUGHBOYS' BOOK. By Carty Ranck. Boston, Mass.: The Stratford Company. \$2.

Few American veterans will view with approbation this pen-portrait of the "doughboy" in France. Mr. Ranck's enthusiasm is unbridled and

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reckless, but the "doughboy" he depicts is an impossible paragon somewhere between Horatio Alger and George M. Cohan. The book, however, is interesting and valuable as a record of experiences encountered by the average American soldier in France. Mr. Ranck has a sense of humor and an understanding of human psychology. Numerous incidents that are recounted are convincing in their fidelity to the A. E. F. picture. The chapter relating to The Stars and Stripes, the A. E. F. weekly newspaper, contains considerable material of historic value.

RACE OR NATION: The Conflict of Divided Loyalties. By Gino Speranza. Indianapolis, Ind.: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

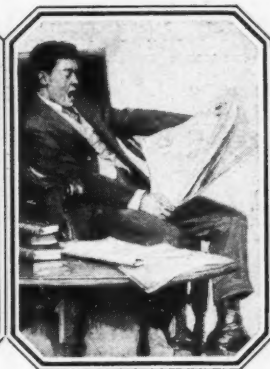
Assimilation of foreign nationalities in the melting-pot of America continues to command attention as a domestic question of outstanding social importance. Mr. Speranza, a well-known sociologist, who has had considerable experience as a worker among foreign groups, in this book draws largely upon his own knowledge of the problem. He holds that the average foreign-born person in America, even to the second generation, is only partially Americanized. He finds a clash of political and social ideas between the Old Stock American and the New, and insists that the Old Stock Americanism must prevail. There must therefore be a surrender of certain views and ideas on the part of the New Stock, in order to achieve "a full, unreserved, undivided, whole-souled return to and conformity with the historic principles and ideals of American life and American civilization."

AN OLD-FASHIONED SENATOR: A Story-Biography of John Sharp Williams. By Harris Dickson. New York: Frederick A. Stokes & Co. \$2.

Mr. Dickson's book reads more like a romance of the South after the Civil War than the biography of a man who has for many years been a distinctive figure in American public life. The charm of the volume, indeed, may be said to lie in this very fact—that it is a personal rather than a political study. The biographer writes affectionately, but occasionally exaggerates. As a whole, however, the book presents an authentic picture of the life of a cultured and brilliant American.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. By Raymond Leslie Buell. New York: Henry Holt & Co. \$5.

Mr. Buell, who is an instructor in government at Harvard University, is already well known to the readers of CURRENT HISTORY through his contributions to this magazine. In his new book the author submits international relations to a searching analysis which includes both the political and economic factors at work, and also the less direct though equally vital influences of humanism and racial conflict. Mr. Buell essays a prodigious task, which carries him through nearly 800 pages. Despite its breadth of scope the book makes easy reading, due largely to the excellent arrangement



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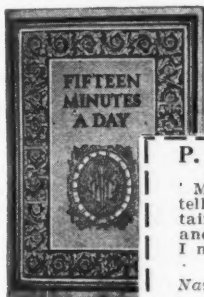
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**SOCIAL CLASSES IN POST-WAR EUROPE.**  
By Lothrop Stoddard. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.

Mr. Stoddard divides the social strata in post-war Europe into five classes—the peasants, the urban working classes, the middle classes, the intellectuals and the upper classes. The most significant development of the post-war period, he finds, is the growing importance of the peasantry:

So long as present conditions persist Europe's urban elements will continue to weaken while Europe's rural elements will grow in strength. \* \* \* If the present trend continues it might not take much for Europe as a whole to revert to something like the predominantly rural status of a century ago.

He ascribes this trend to the fact that "the town cannot live without the country, but the country can live without the town." The agricultural security of the peasantry, according to Mr. Stoddard, insures the future of this class, irrespective of what may be the fate of the other classes.

**ROBERT OWEN.** By G. D. H. Cole. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. \$4.

This latest biography of the British social reformer is interesting chiefly as the picture of a period. Mr. Cole concerns himself more with the influence of Owen upon the early industrial life of England than with the personality of the man himself, and in so doing makes a contribution that is of considerable value to students of British social history. The volume is pleasantly void of heroics. In his occasional references to Owen as an individual the author maintains an attitude of detachment and dispassionate appraisal.

**THREE MASTER-BUILDERS AND ANOTHER:**  
Studies in Modern Revolutionary and Liberal Statesmanship. By Pelham H. Box. With an introduction by Ernest Barker. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company.

Mr. Box reviews the lives and analyzes the historical importance of four leading statesmen—Lenin, Wilson, Mussolini, Venizelos. The author refuses to explain who of the four was the "unfaithful servant" referred to so suggestively in his title. His offhand dismissal of Woodrow Wilson, however, will be taken by some as an intimation in this regard. The portrait of Veni-

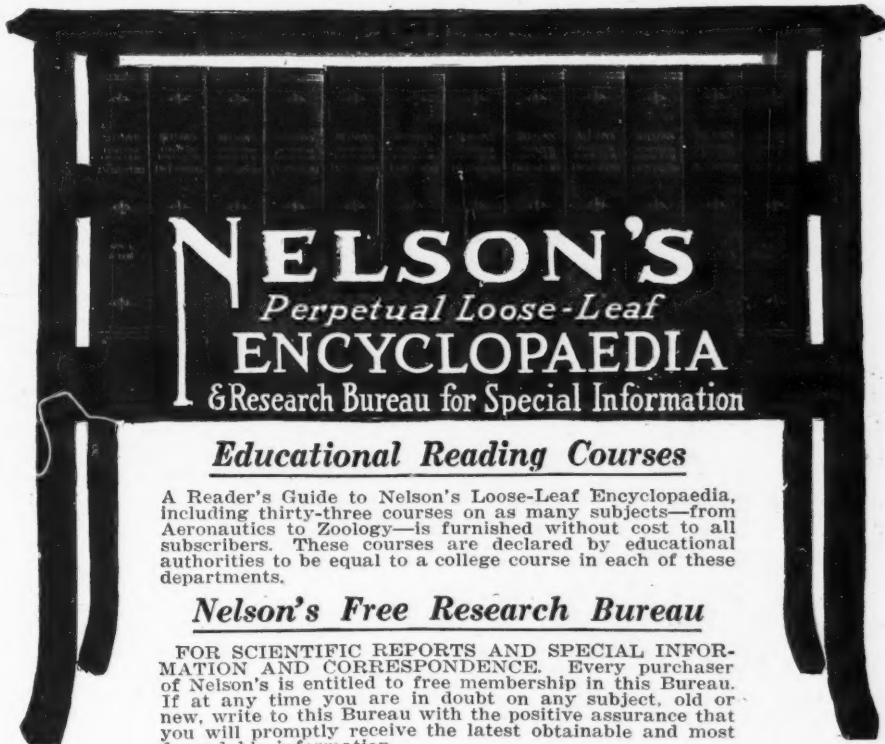


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zelos is the most interesting of the four. Mr. Box sees the Greek statesman as dominated by a great dream of national unity for his country:

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**CELEBRITIES OF OUR TIME.** By Herman Bernstein. New York: Joseph Lawren.

Mr. Bernstein's calling as journalist has brought him in contact with most of the outstanding figures of the world during the past quarter century. In this book he tells of his meetings with these celebrities, among whom were Woodrow Wilson, Tolstoy, Trotsky, Benes and Roosevelt.

**WIVES.** By Gamaliel Bradford. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$3.50.

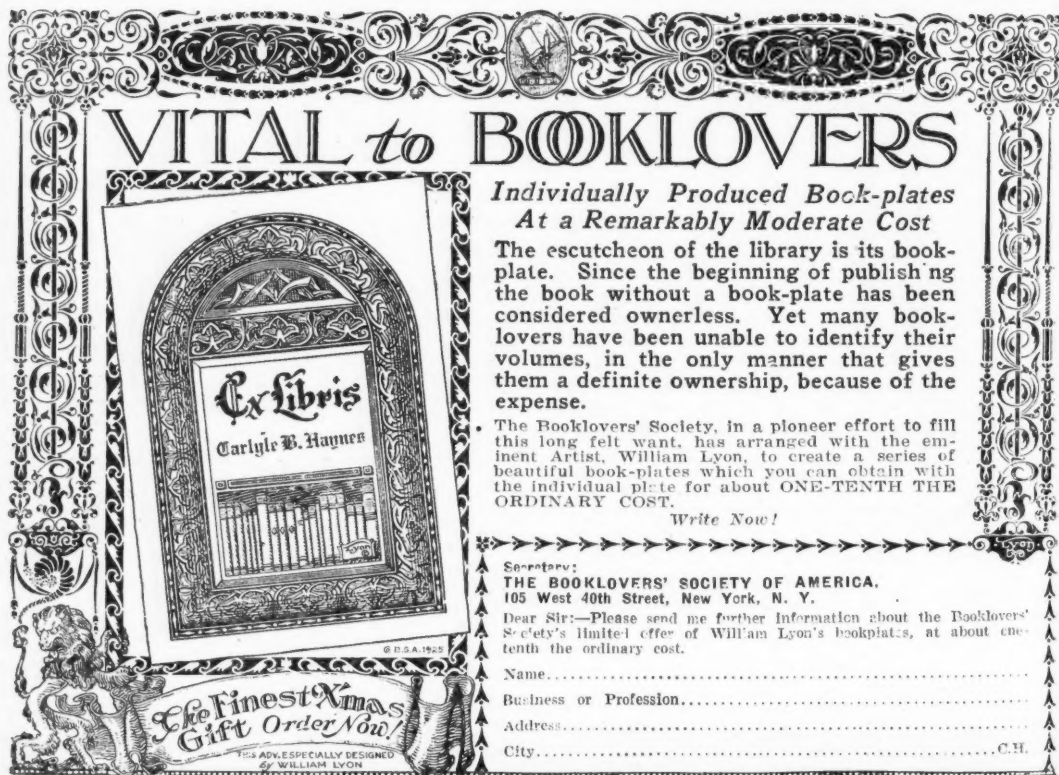
Mr. Bradford studies the personalities of the wives of seven historic Americans, among them Mrs. Abraham Lincoln, Mrs. "Dolly" Madison, Mrs. Jefferson Davis, Mrs. Benedict Arnold and Mrs. Theodosia Burr. Not always, however, does the wife monopolize the attention of the author. Discussing the life of the Lincolns, Mr. Bradford measures the personality of the martyred President against that of Mary Todd. The Lin-

coln essay, perhaps the most notable in the volume, contains this striking passage:

He [Lincoln] lived in a solitude which neither man nor woman ever perfectly penetrated. No doubt we all live in such a solitude. The difference is that nine hundred and ninety-nine out of a thousand rarely think of it. Lincoln thought of it all the time. He ruled over millions of men and women who loved him, yet he was enormously alone, because he felt himself to be so. In this one point there is a curious resemblance between him and the greatest of all his contemporaries, a man who differed from him in so many other respects, Robert E. Lee. Lee was lonely as Lincoln was. Yet Lee had a most exquisite, devoted, sympathizing wife and children whose affection was constant and complete. The loneliness with him, as with Lincoln, was the isolation of the human soul which the yearning of the deepest love merely accentuates. Lincoln's own words to Speed convey it with clarifying intensity. "I have no doubt it is the peculiar misfortune of both you and me to dream dreams of Elysium far exceeding all that anything earthly can realize." When there was such an ideal as this to compete with, neither the perfection of wit, nor the beauty, nor the sacrifice, would have been any more satisfying than poor Mary Todd.

**FARM LIFE ABROAD:** Field Letters From Germany, Denmark and France. By E. C. Branson. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. \$2.

Too little is known of the present condition of the Continental peasantry. For this reason Mr. Branson's observations on agricultural conditions in Germany, France and Denmark are of considerable value. He depicts the German farmer as



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**LEAVES FROM A WAR DIARY.** By Major Gen. James G. Harbord, United States Army, Retired List. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$5.

A candor as engaging as it is unconventional distinguishes this volume of wartime reminiscences. General Harbord was, by common accord, the outstanding American officer in the A. E. F., next to General Pershing. As Commander-in-Chief of the Service of Supplies, he performed with remarkable dispatch and efficiency one of the greatest tasks facing the Americans overseas. General Harbord writes crisply and intimately in these memoirs, which are made up chiefly of letters sent to his wife during the war. Of General Pershing he writes:

He [Pershing] has a good many peculiarities, such, I suppose, as any strong man accustomed to command is apt to develop. He is very patient and philosophical under trying delays from the War Department. He is playing for high stakes and does not intend to jeopardize his winning by wasting his standing with the War Department over small things—relatively unimportant, though very annoying as they occur. He is extremely cautious, very cautious, does nothing hastily or carelessly. He spends much time rewriting the cables and other papers I prepare for him, putting his own individuality into them. He is the first officer for whom I have prepared papers who did not generally accept

what I wrote for him. It is very seldom I get anything past him without some alteration, though I am obliged to say I do not always consider that he improves them, though often he does. He edits everything he signs, even the most trivial things.

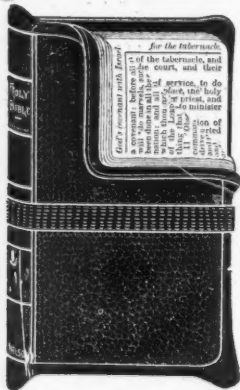
**CORRESPONDENCE OF JOHN ADAMS AND THOMAS JEFFERSON, 1812-1826.** Selected with comment by Paul Wiltach. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

These letters, already well known to the public as part of the collected writings of the respective authors, are here arranged in the form of a sequential correspondence between these two great Americans. The letters reveal the deep friendship which was a lifetime bond between Adams and Jefferson; they are frank, intimate and engagingly candid. Paul Wiltach in a foreword tells the history of the correspondence.

**NEXT YEAR IN JERUSALEM.** By Jerome and Jean Tharaud. Translated from the French by Madeleine Boyd. New York: Boni & Liveright.

The spiritual problems involved in the establishment of the Jewish Holy Land in Palestine are analyzed in detail by M.M. Tharaud. These problems, the authors suggest, are too deep and varied to permit of early solutions. The writers reach their conclusions, not by the usual route of political survey, but by submitting the situation in Jerusalem to an intense, semi-religious study.

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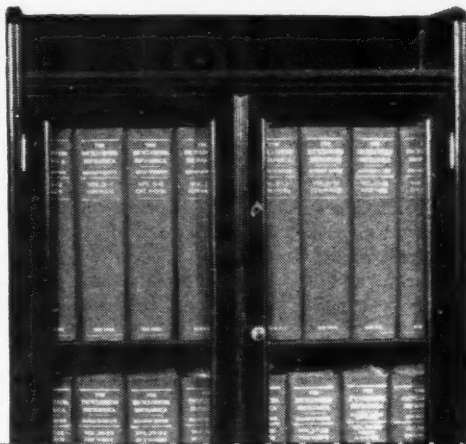
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# Contemporary History AND BIOGRAPHY

**RUSSIA TODAY: The Official Report of the British Trade Union Delegation.** New York: International Publishers. \$1.75.

The results of the visit by the British Trade Union delegation to Russia in November-December, 1924, are already well known. The report is now offered here in book form, with a thirteen-page preface by the five members of the delegation. The preface reviews the circumstances of the trip, and ends with the observation that the delegation was assisted by Russian linguists and was not, "as many critics have said, at the mercy of the appointed guides and interpreters of the Russian Government."

**AUSTRIA AND ITS ECONOMIC EXISTENCE.** By Dr. A. Basch and J. Dvoracek. Prague, Czechoslovakia: Orbis Publishing Company.

A general study of commercial, industrial and financial conditions in Austria today. The authors consider Austria's problems in the light of that nation's relation to neighboring States, pointing out that Austria's economic future is permanently allied to the future of such other countries as Hungary and Czechoslovakia. The writers urge that any program looking to a solution of Austria's problems must consider the economic problem of Central Europe as a whole.

**LA DEBACLE NATIONALE BULGARE DEVANT LA HAUTE-COUR.** By G. I. Kaptcheff. Paris: Imprimerie d'Art Voltaire.

M. Kaptcheff analyzes the history of Bulgaria during the past quarter century, in a search for a psychological explanation of that nation's rôle in the World War. His search is only partially successful. As compensation, however, for the failure to explain numerous developments in Bulgaria, he offers some interesting conclusions regarding the disasters which befell that nation following her surrender in 1918. M. Kaptcheff blames these disasters upon the lack of national union among Bulgaria's leaders, "who," he writes, "were more interested in the aims of their own groups than in the fate of the nation."

**THE PHANTOM PUBLIC.** By Walter Lippmann. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co.

Mr. Lippmann takes a skeptical view of the contemporary world's efforts toward democratic government. Little progress has as yet been made in this direction, he holds. The public lacks dis-

crimination, and is swayed only by the election-hour issue. Government by the individual rather than by the mass is the rule. Mr. Lippmann suggests, as a solution, that the public cease attempting to understand the details of public affairs, and be satisfied to maintain a general supervision over officials and problems. The popular view of "The Public" as the determining factor in a great controversy is fallacious. It is the individual rather than "The Public" that registers an opinion or shapes history. "The public," adds Mr. Lippmann,

does not select the candidate, write the platform, outline the policy any more than it builds the automobile or acts the play. It aligns itself for or against somebody who has offered himself, has made a promise, has produced a play, is selling an automobile.

It is the individuals who act, not society; it is the individuals who think, not the collective mind; it is the painters who paint, not the artistic spirit of the age; it is the soldiers who fight and are killed, not the nation; it is the merchant who exports, not the country.

We must adopt the theory that, by occasional mobilizations as a majority, people support or oppose the individuals who actually govern.

**THE LITTLE WORLD.** By Stella Benson. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

Miss Benson is a traveler who is not afraid to pause by the way. This book records the impressions gathered on a recent leisurely trip through China, Japan, Indo-China and India. The glimpses she offers of contemporary life and conditions in the Far East are both vivid and informative. Miss Benson emphatically disapproves of the "aloof" attitude maintained by white women in India:

Women come to India either because they are married to empire builders or because they want to be. They are expected to learn to play bridge well, to dance well in the manner of about five years ago and to know what to wear at the races. To take an interest in India is, on the other hand, most unladylike.

**RELEASED FOR PUBLICATION: Some Inside Political History of Theodore Roosevelt and His Times.** By Oscar King Davis. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. \$5.

Mr. Davis first met Theodore Roosevelt in 1898, at which time he himself was a young newspaper man in New York, and Mr. Roosevelt was Assistant Secretary of the Navy. The meeting was the beginning of a personal and political friendship which continued until Roosevelt's death. As Washington correspondent of *The New York Times* during the early years of the Twentieth

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Century Mr. Davis was an onlooker at, and not infrequently a participant in, numerous historic conferences. The journalist here reviews his associations with Roosevelt, and also his contacts with Taft, Borah and others. The book is an interesting sidelight on American political affairs during the period between the Spanish-American and the World Wars.

**ROOSEVELT AND THE OLD GUARD.** By J. Hampton Moore. Philadelphia: Smith, Maerke, Smith & Co.

Both in his capacity as Mayor of Philadelphia and as Republican leader Mr. Moore came into intimate contact with President Roosevelt. His book is a record of Roosevelt's political problems. As the title suggests, the author occupies himself chiefly with the relations between "T. R." and the Old Guard of the Republican Party. Mr. Moore's Roosevelt is the popular Roosevelt—a fighting figure, of indomitable energy. There is little new in the portrait, though Mr. Moore's anecdotes have a certain value in enlarging the idea of Roosevelt as that distinguished American has come to be accepted by contemporary historians.

**THE MARVELS OF MODERN PHYSICS.** By Joseph McCabe. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.50.

Mr. McCabe explains, in language comprehensive to the layman, the recent outstanding discoveries in the department of physics. The primary importance of these discoveries, he writes, lies in the changes they are effecting in the daily life of mankind. He points out that the great scientific achievements of today are but the forerunners of the greater wonders of tomorrow. Discussing the practical application of these discoveries, the author writes:

Before many years the entire home, the entire city, will be electrified. Not half the water power of the world is yet pressed into service to generate electrical power. The rivers and tidal estuaries are in particular neglected; though in France a hydroelectric scheme of this nature has been in existence for some years. The problem of utilizing the intermittent, but colossal, energy of the winds has never yet been fairly confronted. The misuse of coal in such a country as England is still scandalous. Our cities and industries today are transformed in comparison with what they were, but when the electric era is fairly inaugurated and the supply of power scientifically organized they will pass to a far higher stage.

**AARON BURR: A Biography Compiled From Rare and in Many Cases Unpublished Sources.** By Samuel H. Wendell and Meade Minnigerode. In two volumes. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The complex personality of Aaron Burr, so indelibly impressed upon the America of the Revolutionary period, is interpreted but loosely in this new biography. Messrs. Wendell and Minnigerode write sympathetically, analytically and without too many digressions. They offer a vivid picture of American politics during the Revolutionary period. Some passages are sharp with dramatic force, as, for instance, the exit of Vice President Burr from the national political



# Who was the Man in the Iron Mask?

THIS mysterious prisoner on the ramparts of an island prison has always excited the most intense interest. What was the life which he exchanged for one silent as the grave? What had he done? Who was he? What was his past? The dissolute life of a courtier? Or the devious ways of an intriguing diplomat? Had some fair one in the hallowed circle of royalty loved not wisely but too well? Why during all these years has he remained the greatest of all mysteries?

## NONE DARED TELL SECRET

Some believe that he was a twin or even elder brother of Louis XIV, a true heir to the crown hidden from the time of his birth. Others think that he was the eldest illegitimate son of Charles II; or that he, and not Louis XIII, was the actual father of Louis XIV. Some have thought that he was the son of Buckingham and the Queen of France; others, that he was the son of Louis XIV and De la Vallière. To have revealed it would have cost anyone his life. The regent admitted when drunk that the prisoner was a son of Anne of Austria and Mazarin. Louis XV refused to tell Madame de Pompadour. Madame Campan stated that Louis XVI did not know the secret. De Chamillart on his deathbed declined to reveal the secret.

## MASKED—HIS FACE HIS SECRET

In 1669 there was hurried across France a masked man whose identity was shrouded in mystery. Never has a prisoner been guarded with such vigilance and with such fear of his story becoming known. He was taken to an island prison where the governor carried his food to him; a confessor saw him once a year, but no other visitor ever laid eyes on him. He was always masked—his face alone would tell his secret.

He was well treated; supplied with fine clothing, books, and served from silver dishes. The governor stood before him uncovered, and addressed him as *Mon prince*. When the prisoner wrote messages on his white linen he was supplied only with black.

He is not a myth, as is proven by letters between Louvois, the minister, and Saint-Mars, the governor of the prison. These are all written in veiled language; never once is he given a name. No letter mentions his crime or whether he had committed one.

## SECRET EVEN AFTER DEATH

This horrible punishment ended when, in 1703, the most mysterious of all prisoners died and was buried in the dead of night, under a false name, and given a false age.

His cell was carefully painted so that any message he might have written would be covered up, and everything he used was destroyed lest any clue might be left. Thus vanished a man whose name and identity was unknown even to his gaoler—some think even to the prisoner himself.

## WHY WAS HIS LIFE PRESERVED?

What was the reason for all this secrecy? What crime, if any, did this man, evidently of exalted rank, commit that he should be

buried alive for life? Why did the king preserve the life of this prisoner? Why did he not have him put to death? The subject becomes more mysterious as we investigate.

## LONG BURIED RECORDS FOUND

The mystery has always terrified the imagination and excited speculation. With the nineteenth century came an opportunity to search long-buried records. Dumas did so and told the whole story in one of the volumes of the strangest and most curious set of books ever published which he called

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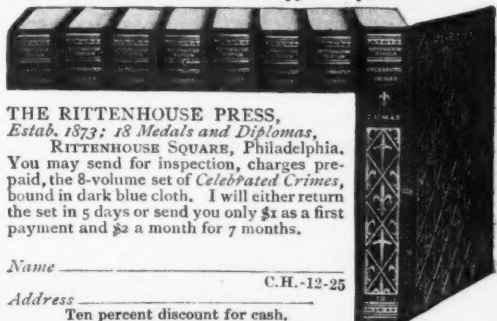
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stage in 1805. The biographers attempt no exhaustive summation of Burr's life. The following passage, however, gives an interesting description of Burr as a social favorite:

All women adored Burr, and were by him beloved; young men admired him, and he welcomed them all. Flattery was his magic—the flattery of an adroit, daring eloquence poured into feminine ears; the flattery of a respectful silence offered to masculine vanity. He seldom interrupted, he listened so eagerly, so attentively, so modestly. \* \* \* They never forgot, they idolized the man who prized their thoughts.

**BUFFALO DAYS.** By Colonel Homer W. Wheeler. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

Colonel Wheeler looks back across forty years to the West of buffaloes and Indian raids. So rapidly have we accustomed ourselves to the settlement and growth of Texas "and points beyond" that this volume comes as a sharp reminder of earlier days. Colonel Wheeler spent a lifetime pioneering amid primitive conditions, and as he is a facile raconteur and writes dramatically, his book makes good reading.

**WILLARD FISKE, LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE: A Biographical Study.** By Horatio S. White. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch. \$7.50.

Willard Fiske was alike distinguished as editor, journalist, educator and diplomatist. Mr. White

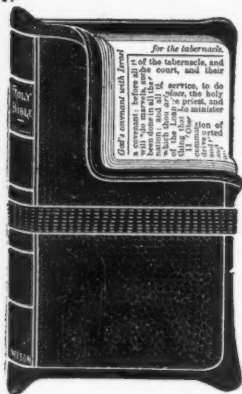
studies the life of his subject with particular attention to the period of early maturity. Willard Fiske was a man of many interests and sympathies, which are reflected as much in the scope of his activities as in the variety of his friendships. He enjoyed the personal friendship of Andrew D. White, Bayard Taylor, Mark Twain, James Russell Lowell and others, and his correspondence with these celebrities forms an interesting part of the book.

**MEMOIRS.** By Sir Almeric Fitzroy. Two volumes. London: Hutchinson & Co.

As Clerk of the Privy Council of Great Britain during the greater part of the reigns of Queen Victoria and King Edward VII, Sir Almeric Fitzroy enjoyed a privileged intimacy at the British court. He is thus able to present an interesting picture of life among the British notables of that period. The author is discreet but not tiresome, and he writes piquantly. His portrait of King Edward is surprisingly well done, and contains the following illustration of that monarch's natural informality:

Lord Pembroke went to Buckingham Palace the other day to inquire when it would be convenient for the King to receive an address to the Crown and found his Majesty having his corns cut. The King asked the Earl whether he had got the address with him. And on being told that he had, asked, "Why not present it

# Compare Hebrews 11:1



as rendered in the American Standard Bible, with any previous version. "Assurance" in place of "substance" and "conviction" replacing "evidence"—what a wealth of meaning and clarity these highly authoritative translations impart. How much more understandable because more accurate—especially to the young—does this small verse become with these changes! And yet they are only typical of the entire

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# WHAT I THINK OF PELMANISM-

## By Judge Ben B. Lindsey

**P**ELMANISM is a big, vital, significant contribution to the mental life of America. I have the deep conviction that it is going to strike at the very roots of individual failure, for I see in it a new power, a great driving force.

I first heard of Pelmanism while in England on war work. Sooner or later almost every conversation touched on it, for the movement seemed to have the sweep of a religious conviction. Even in France I did not escape the word, for thousands of officers and men were *Pelmanizing* in order to fit themselves for return to civil life.

When I learned that Pelmanism had been brought to America by Americans for Americans, I was among the first to enroll. My reasons were two: first, because I have always felt that every mind needed regular, systematic, and scientific exercise, and, secondly, because I wanted to find out if Pelmanism was the thing that I could recommend to the hundreds who continually ask my advice in relation to their lives, problems and ambitions.

In the twenty years that I have sat on the bench of the Juvenile Court of Denver, almost every variety of human failure has passed before me in melancholy procession. By failure, I do not mean the merely criminal mistakes of the individual, but the faults of training that keep a life from full development and complete expression.

### Pelmanism the Answer

If I were asked to set down the principal cause of the average failure, I would have to put the blame at the door of our educational system. It is there that trouble begins—trouble that only the gifted and most fortunate are strong enough to overcome in later life.

What wonder that our boys and girls come forth into the world with something less than firm purpose, full confidence and leaping courage? What wonder that mind wandering and wool gathering are common, and that so many individuals are shackled by indecisions, doubts, and fears?

It is to these needs and these lacks that Pelmanism comes as an answer. The "twelve little gray books" are a remarkable achievement. Not only do they contain the discoveries that science knows about the mind and its working, but the treatment is so simple that the truths may be grasped by anyone of average education.

In plain words, what Pelmanism has done is to take psychology out of the college and put it into harness for the day's work. It lifts



JUDGE BEN B. LINDSEY

Judge Ben B. Lindsey is known throughout the whole modern world for his work in the Juvenile Court of Denver. Years ago his vision and courage lifted children out of the cruelties and stupidities of the criminal law, and forced society to recognize its duties and responsibilities in connection with the "citizens of tomorrow."

great, helpful truths out of the back water and plants them in the living stream.

As a matter of fact, Pelmanism ought to be the beginning of education instead of a remedy for its faults. First of all, it teaches the science of self-realization; it makes the student discover himself; it acquaints him with his sleeping powers and shows him how to develop them. The method is exercise, not of the haphazard sort, but a steady, increasing kind that brings each hidden power to full strength without strain or break.

### Pelmanism's Large Returns

The human mind is not an automatic device. It will not "take care of itself." Will-power, originality, decision, resourcefulness, imagination, initiative, courage—these things are not gifts but results. Every one of these qualities can be developed by exercise. I do not mean by this that the individual can add to the brains that God gave him, but he can learn to make use of the brains that he has instead of letting them fall into flabbiness through disuse.

Other methods and systems that I have examined, while realizing the value of mental exercise, have made the mistake of limiting their efforts to the development of some single sense. What Pelmanism does is to consider the mind as a whole and treat it as a whole. It goes in for mental team play, training the mind as a unity.

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(Signed) Ben B. Lindsey.

Note: As Judge Lindsey has pointed out, Pelmanism is neither an experiment nor a theory. For almost a quarter of a century it has been showing men and women how to lead happy, successful, well-rounded lives. 650,000 Pelmanists in every country on the globe are the guarantee of what Pelman training can do for you.

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now?" Lord Pembroke demurred on the ground that he had not his Lord Steward's Wand of Office, which is supposed to be de rigueur on such occasions. "Oh, never mind," exclaimed the King, "take that umbrella." And rather to Pembroke's consternation the ceremony was performed under such novel conditions.

**TOLERANCE: The Story of Man's Struggle for the Right to Think.** By Hendrik Willem Van Loon. New York: Boni & Liveright. \$3.

The author of "The Story of Mankind" here offers a work which promises to equal if not exceed its predecessor in popularity. Mr. Van Loon applies a fresh and vigorous perception to this study of the eternal question of intellectual liberty. His book is popular without being sensational, and, though he writes obviously for the man in the street, he does so without too great a sacrifice of scholarship. Intolerance, be it religious, social, racial or intellectual, is essentially a foe of civilized society, writes Mr. Van Loon, who suggests that man may eventually prove himself superior to the ancient bigotries. The author traces the history of tolerance from the beginning of time to these present days of reform and restriction. Mr. Van Loon finds much progress has been made, and offers the promise of an advance toward yet greater liberalism. He sees fear as the basic cause of all such intolerance:

No matter what form or shape a persecution may take, it is caused by fear, and its very vehemence is indicative of the degree of anguish experienced by those who erect the gallows or throw fresh logs upon the funeral pyre.

**RECOLLECTIONS OF THOMAS R. MARSHALL.** Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company.

The personality of Thomas R. Marshall, Vice President of the United States, 1912-1920, was eclipsed—probably even more than the personality of an American Vice President is usually—by the dominant figure of Woodrow Wilson. The late Mr. Marshall reveals himself in these pages as essentially a man of the people. The volume reflects the wit, philosophy and simple tastes of its author. The former Vice President writes reservedly of his public life and omits virtually all reference to controversial questions. A notable passage is that devoted to a defense of the late Tom Taggart, Senator from Indiana and long the Democratic boss of that State. Discussing Taggart's Senatorial service and his public life generally, Mr. Marshall writes:

His career was brief, but distinctly honorable and praiseworthy. The prejudice against him and the falsehoods told about him, together with a political revulsion, retired him at the next election. . . . He deserves this tribute: That he never wavered in the defense of the Democratic Party, regardless of whether his personal choice was the candidate or not. Few men have been more misrepresented than he. Power of reputation, or misrepresentation, has undeservedly stricken him down at many times.

Mr. Marshall is notably reticent in his references to Woodrow Wilson personally or to the latter's war policies. He is more candid, however, in discussing diplomatic social life, and he praises Count von Bernstorff, pre-war German Ambassador to Washington, for that diplomat's "sense of justice, wisdom and propriety."



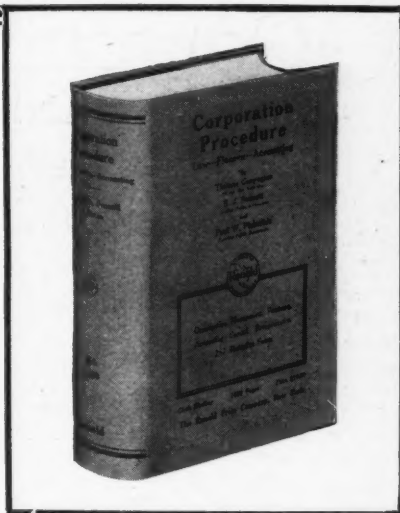
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# Contemporary History AND BIOGRAPHY

**THE CONFESSIONS OF A REFORMER.** By Frederic C. Howe. New York: Charles S. Scribner's Sons. \$3.

Mr. Howe's career in public affairs and reform movements has been varied and colorful. His new book is a summarization of his life and service, together with an autobiographical outline and the impressions he gathered of eminent Americans whose lives brushed his own. "Confessions of a Reformer" is written with an honesty that is almost self-depreciation. Mr. Howe admits frankly that many of his political beliefs have proved fallacious, and he describes his continuous search for new truths and standards. The book is especially notable for the chapters bearing on the life and personality of Woodrow Wilson, whose friendship Mr. Howe enjoyed for many years. Writing of the War President, Mr. Howe offers the following tribute:

President Wilson, \* \* \* one of the world's great men, \* \* \* saw life in great principles; he knew what the distracted world needed. His phrases won permanent victories; they inspired peoples; possibly they won the war. He left humanity better for what he said; he enriched it by the unsullied idealism of his messages.

Of Wilson as a lecturing professor at Johns Hopkins University, some thirty years ago, Mr. Howe writes:

Austere, never inviting intimacies, Professor Wilson kept by himself at the university. He was a raconteur of good stories, a brilliant conversationalist, but he spent most of his time by himself preparing his lectures and writings. \* \* \* Woodrow Wilson the President is to be found in these early influences. He never outgrew them. He lived in a world of dreams rather than with men.

**THE MEDICAL FOLLIES.** By Morris Fishbein, M. D. New York: Boni & Liveright. \$2.

Dr. Fishbein assails quackery and chicanery in medicine, and pleads for a more rational viewpoint on the part of both patients and doctors. The author sees little merit in osteopathy, homeopathy, chiropractic, mental healing and other modern medical treatments. He finds the public always gullible and willing to be fooled, and largely to blame for the success of the "medical follies." The author writes flippantly and colloquially. His sincerity, however, is convincing, and his arguments are worth consideration.

**THE WORLD COURT.** By Antonio S. de Bustamante. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$3.

This is a history of the origin, growth, purpose and scope of the Permanent Court of Interna-

tional Justice, by one of the Judges of that tribunal. Judge Bustamante holds the theory of international jurisprudence to have had its inception in the earliest institutions of law in Greece and Rome. He traces the development of the idea through the centuries up to the final organization and establishment of the present World Court at The Hague. Edward W. Bok, in a preface to the volume, describes the Hague tribunal as "the first attempt at a permanent international court that has in it the possibility of substituting law for war." Mr. Bok concludes with the remark that "it is the wish of every American citizen that the Government of the United States shall encourage actively and maintain this ideal."

**THE STORY OF THE WORLD'S LITERATURE.** By John Macy. Illustrated by Onorio Ruotolo. New York: Boni & Liveright. \$5.

Mr. Macy essayed a gigantic task when he sought to tell the history of literature in 613 pages. The book is necessarily superficial, and many of the author's critical attitudes will arouse opposition. Considering the magnitude of his task, however, Mr. Macy has done his work well. He carries the reader swiftly through the centuries, lingering just a moment or two with one or another of the great literary figures of each era.

**GENERAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD.** By Victor F. Duruy. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell. \$4.

A new edition of Duruy's classic, revised up to 1901 by Edwin A. Grosvenor, and including supplemental chapters to 1925 by Mabel S. C. Smith and J. Walker McSpadden. The events of the past twenty-four years have an important place in history; and the Smith-McSpadden chapters covering this period are compact and adequate. The text is supplemented by a series of color maps.

**ISRAEL.** By Ludwig Lewisohn. New York: Boni & Liveright.

A semi-theological discussion, analysis and history of the Jewish race. The author calls for a closer spiritual bond among Jews, and for a more tolerant attitude on the part of all races toward one another.

**AN HISTORICAL SURVEY, FROM THE BEGINNINGS TO THE PRESENT TIME OF BRITISH DRAMA.** By Allardyce Nicoll. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company.

Professor Nicoll spans the entire range of dramatic development in England. Opening with a



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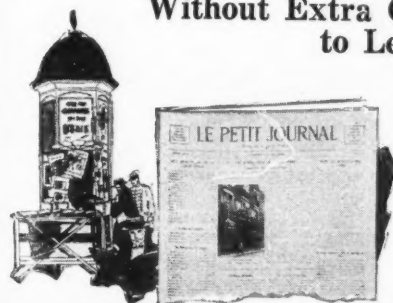
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general review of the Greek and Roman influences, the author traces the evolution of the drama successively through the Elizabethan and Restoration periods, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, up to the present time. The chapter on the moderns includes comments on the works of Galsworthy, Masfield, Shaw and Barrie.

**THE SENATE AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.** By Henry Cabot Lodge. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$4.

The late Senator Lodge here presents his own story of the historic conflict between the Senate and President Wilson on the League of Nations issue. Senator Lodge digresses frequently to discuss the personality of Woodrow Wilson. These passages are so heated and bitter as to lend an unhappy note of posthumous antagonism to the volume. The work is amplified by several hundred pages of documents and speeches bearing on the issue.

**THE LIFE STORY OF ORISON SWETT MARDEN: A Man Who Benefited Men.** By Margaret Connolly. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company.

Dr. Marden began earning his own living at the age of seven. Despite that unpromising start, he acquired an education and developed talents which eventually won for him widespread popularity as a writer of inspirational articles and as editor of *Success Magazine*. The biographer tells Dr. Marden's story without more than the inevitable embellishments.

**THE AUTHORIZED NARRATIVE OF THE FIRST WORLD FLIGHT.** By Lowell Thomas. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

The globe-circling achievement of the six American flyers in 1924 has already become history. Mr. Thomas's book is a transcript of the aviators' own record of the trip. The story is simply and informally told, and includes many striking anecdotes of the adventures met by the airmen on their flight. The text is supplemented by a notable collection of photographs which were taken in all parts of the world.

**WHALING IN THE FROZEN SOUTH.** By A. J. Villiers. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

Mr. Villiers, an Australian journalist, accompanied the late Captain Carl A. Larsen, Norwegian explorer and whaler, on the latter's whaling expedition to the Antarctic during 1923-1924. He describes, with the trained pen of the newspaper man, the dramatic experiences of the trip. Mr. Villiers gives an insight into the life of the professional whalers and writes in warm praise of their heroism.

**MY LIFE AS AN EXPLORER.** By Sven Hedin. Translated by Alfhild Huebsch. New York: Boni & Liveright. \$5.

Sven Hedin, noted Swedish explorer, looks back across a quarter century of travel which took him to virtually every clime and country. The author tells of encounters with primitive tribes in the

most remote regions of Asia, of archaeological discoveries in the Lop Desert, and of many exciting trips through the interior of China. Mr. Hedin illustrates his own story with thumb-nail sketches of scenes and incidents.

**INDIANS OF THE ENCHANTED DESERT.** By Leo Crane. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

An original addition to the history of the American Indian. As representative of the United States Government, Mr. Crane administered four different Indian reservations. His work brought him into intimate contact with the natives and their traditions, customs, rites, so that he draws upon his own knowledge in his book. The book is interesting both for its history and as a romantic narrative.

**THE CORRESPONDENCE OF WILLIAM HICKLING PRESCOTT: 1833 to 1847.** Edited by Roger Wolcott. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Mr. Wolcott, great-grandson of the noted historian, has assembled several score of hitherto unpublished letters between Prescott and other celebrities of the period. The letters are lengthy and intimate. They form a composite picture of literary life in the nineteenth century in Europe and America. Among Prescott's correspondents were Charles Dickens, Edward Everett, Washington Irving and Jared Sparks.

**SINS OF SCIENCE.** By Scudder Klyce. Boston: Marshall Jones Company.

Mr. Klyce analyzes present-day theology in the light of scientific advance. He dissents from the views of certain modern scientists that religion and science are incompatible, and suggests that dispassionate study might reveal the two to be mutually helpful.

**LINCOLN AND HIS GENERALS.** Illustrated With Official Photograph From the War Department, Washington. By Clarence Edward Macartney, D. D. Philadelphia: Dorrance & Co.

Dr. Macartney considers Lincoln in the rôle of Commander-in-Chief of a nation at war. The book strikes an unusual note, as Lincoln's relations to his Generals during the Civil War have hitherto received but passing attention from biographers. Dr. Macartney's volume comprises ten chapters, one being devoted to each of the ten Generals: Scott, Frémont, Butler, McClellan, Sherman, Burnside, Hooker, Meade, Halleck and Grant. The chapter entitled "Lincoln and Grant" is perhaps the most appealing. The author sees these two Americans as united by a great bond of friendship.

**THE JESUIT RELATIONS AND ALLIED DOCUMENTS: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in North America, 1610-1791.** Selected and Edited by Edna Kenton. New York: Albert & Charles Boni.

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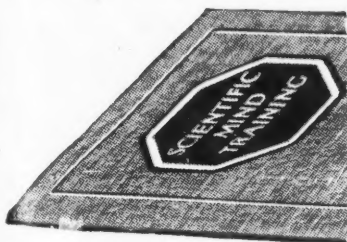
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**AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF RUSSIA.** By James Mavor. Two Vols. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

Eleven years have passed since the first appearance of Professor Mavor's book. During that period Russia has gone through perhaps the most important changes in the history of the country. Professor Mavor has revised and supplemented his book in the light of these developments. He attempts no history of the Revolution of 1917, but is satisfied to carry the reader up to the immediate preliminaries to that conflict.

**THE DOCTOR LOOKS AT BIOGRAPHY.** By Joseph Collins. New York: George H. Doran Company.

Dr. Collins ambles genially among the great figures of the past, pausing here and there to interpose some philosophic word of his own. Of particular interest are Dr. Collins's observations on the changing significance of the word personality:

The Greek's conception of personality as we understand it was most rudimentary. It consisted in the abundance of things which a man did. A recital of deeds by a chorus was an adequate reflection of the personality of a hero. It was not until Christianity put in practice its principle of self-analysis that consciousness of personality became dominant. Then it was made to embrace the abundance of things which a man is—and might have been.

**THE TRAGEDY OF WASTE.** By Stuart Chase. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Mr. Chase indicts contemporary society as careless, extravagant, profligate and inefficient. Applying the rules of the economist to present-day methods of business and affairs, he finds that one half of the productive man power of the United States is wasted. Mr. Chase writes caustically of the future:

So far as we can see, the future of the abatement of waste lies with the man of science—the social scientist, the engineer. For upward of one hundred thousand years the mystics, the medicine men, the orators, the spellbinders, the personally violent, the personally crafty, the dealers in the evidential skyrocket and pinwheels of rationalized sophistry, have imposed upon the underlying population whatever deliberate control has existed. And the net result of their efforts lies on the front page of any newspaper and on the pages of this book. It is difficult to see how the man of science can do worse.

**WHY CHINA SEES RED.** By Putnam Weale. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$3.

A thoughtful review of the present political, economic and social situation in China. Mr. Weale deplors the "desperate and elaborate game now proceeding in the Far East," which he sees as a fundamental menace to international peace. Analyzing the attitude of the various nations toward China, he finds that "Soviet Russia is by

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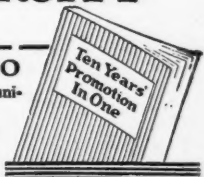
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no means the only ominous factor" on the horizon. He adds:

It should be evident that the elimination of England as the dominant power in China is as necessary to Imperial Japan as British elimination in Europe was necessary to Imperial Germany. Every Japanese move, every written or spoken word on the subject of Chinese tariff, extraterritoriality and foreign settlements during the next year must be carefully judged from this standpoint and no other.

**IF LINCOLN WERE HERE.** By John Wesley Hill. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The Chancellor of Lincoln Memorial University has assembled a little group of essays on various aspects of Lincoln's life and character. The book opens with a foreword by former United States Senator Chauncey M. Depew, who speculates on Lincoln's possible attitude on present-day issues. Mr. Depew writes:

A World Court with broad powers would appeal to him [Lincoln] as directly in line with his appeals for universal peace. In harmony with the lessons of his life would also be tax reduction, transfer of inheritance taxes to the States, economy in government and all efforts for thrift and happiness in the home.

**THE DESTINY OF A CONTINENT.** By Manuel Ugarte. Translated by Catherine Alison Phillips. Edited, with an Introduction and Bibliography, by J. Fred Rippy, Professor of History, University of Chicago. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.50.

Manuel Ugarte, distinguished Argentinian publicist, advocates a union of all the republics of South America. Chief among his arguments in support of this proposal is the "growing significance of the United States as an imperialistic force." Señor Ugarte praises this nation for its achievements, energy and far-seeing statesmanship, but maintains that the increasing power of the United States in South America constitutes an economic danger to the Latin-American republics. A great Latin-American union is the only solution, he holds, and he calls for a crystallization of public opinion among the Latin-American peoples to this end.

Señor Ugarte writes with calm discernment of the growing strength of the United States as the dominant nation in the two Americas:

The United States have done and will continue to do what all strong peoples in history have done, and nothing can be more futile than the arguments used against this policy in Latin America. To invoke ethics in international affairs is almost a confession of defeat. To hate the United States is a sentiment of inferiority which leads nowhere. To deprecate them is a sign of insensate parochialism. What we ought to cultivate is our own self-love, anxiety about our own existence.

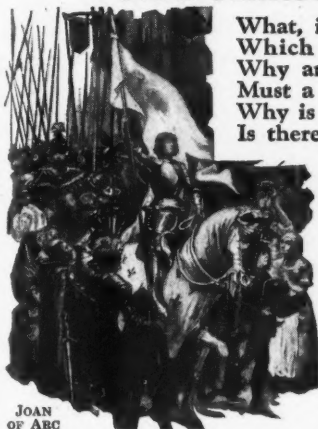
He deprecates the tendency among South American republics to "follow the lead of Washington." This trend, he adds, is even carried into domestic policies of the nations below the equator:

To be a Minister Plenipotentiary in Washington is to have ninety-nine chances out of a hundred of becoming a President. It is there that the bonds are created which begin by being political, then become social and end by becoming economic. It is there that men lose touch with their own nationality and are saturated with alien ideas, so that it is the usual thing for them to



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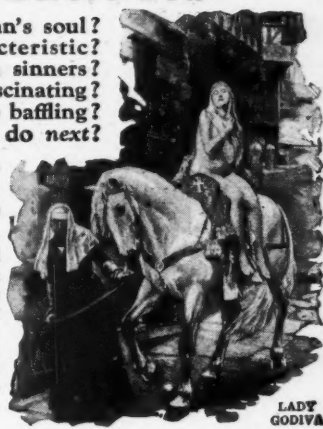


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return to their own country as commissaries, delegates or pro-consuls.

**THE STATE OF ENGLAND:** Conditions Political, Financial, Industrial and Social. By a Gentleman With a Duster. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

It is becoming increasingly the vogue among a certain element in England to depict the British Empire as on its way to disintegration. The "Gentleman With a Duster" allies himself with the most pessimistic of the pessimists. He consigns Great Britain to the category of the "nations with a glorious past," and writes in utter dejection of the future. The author considers the nation from many angles—political, economic, social—and finds every sign pointing toward senility and decay. By some the book will be thought both extravagant and unconvincing; for it will be open to the charge that the author set out to prove a case and cited only the facts which would support his contention.

The author sees the economic condition of England as especially grave. On this score he writes:


An accident, such as the accident of war, might reduce it in a week or two to a state of starvation. With nothing to fall back upon in its own fields, it (that is, the nation) would be caught like a rat in a trap, powerless to escape from certain death.

That Great Britain is still suffering from the effects of the war and that the people are not facing their difficulties with the spirit Americans would, are undoubtedly facts. But it is obviously unwise to be dogmatic about the destiny of a nation that still possesses such enormous resources as are to be found both in the wealth of the Mother Country and the resources of its far-flung empire.

**LAFAYETTE LETTERS.** Edited by Edward Everett Dale. Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Company. \$2.

Mr. Dale, who is Professor of History in the University of Oklahoma, devotes his foreword to a history of these hitherto unpublished letters. The correspondence, which was found recently in an old Oklahoma farmhouse, is the property of J. D. Reinhardt of Crowder, Okla., nephew of Captain Francis Allyn, to whom several of them were written. The letters are brief and friendly; mutual friends are discussed, as well as casual matters of the moment. LaFayette wrote in a courtly English, which was full of the embellishments of the time. The letters are interesting chiefly for the current of warm friendship for America which runs through them.

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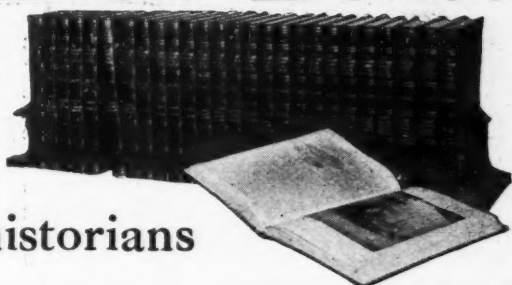
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# Contemporary History AND BIOGRAPHY

**PERSONALITIES AND REMINISCENCES OF THE WAR.** By Robert Lee Bullard, Major General, U. S. A., Retired. Garden City and New York: Doubleday, Page & Co.

General Bullard's book justifies the challenge of the title. Written largely in diary form during the tense days of 1917-18, the volume carries the reader briskly through the war, as that conflict was experienced by its author. General Bullard writes with a candor which is unusual even in a volume of the most personal reflections. Many, no doubt, will contest General Bullard's characterization of General Pershing, which was written on a December day overseas: "Our General Pershing is not a fighter; he is in all his history a pacifist, and, unless driven thereto by the A. E. F., will do no fighting in France for many a day."

**NORWAY.** By G. Gathorne Hardy. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.

Mr. Hardy's book is one of the volumes in "The Modern World" library. Observing that "the renaissance of Norwegian independence dates from the present century—1905," he opens his story with the turn of the century, after touching on Norway's earlier centuries only enough to supply him with a background. The author sees Norway as an outstanding force in the future development of Scandinavia. Norway is most useful to the world when acting as a free agent, Mr. Hardy comments, in discussing the question of a Scandinavian union. The author doubts the feasibility of such an alliance and suggests that Norway be left to work out her own future, "a future," he adds, "which need fear no comparison with the brightest glories of her past." Mr. Hardy's book covers virtually every angle of Norway's history and development. Among the more important chapters are those on "The Language Question," "The World War and After," and "The Swedish Union."

**RUSSIA.** By Valentine O'Hara and N. Makeef. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.

This is another volume in "The Modern World" library, a series devoted to a survey of historical forces, under the editorship of the Right Hon. H. A. L. Fisher. Messrs. O'Hara and Makeef trace and explain the outstanding developments in Russian history since the turn of the century. Especially notable are the chapters on Imperial

Russia, the Rise of Democracy in Russia, War and the Downfall of Autocracy, the Revolution, the Provisional Government, and Bolshevism. Discussing present and future Russia in their conclusion the authors remark:

The Communist dictatorship is at present not only the greatest obstacle to the economic and cultural revival of Russia, but it is a menace to peace, order and economic stability in Europe. There is hardly any possibility of the restoration of the old autocracy in Russia. Autocracy would seem to have discredited itself forever in the eyes of the Russian people. A new Russia has been born. There is now every reason to believe that Russia desires a sound democratic régime, that a federated system of government will arise, and that the present nominal federation will become a reality.

"Russia," the authors add, "will soon come into her own again, politically, economically and culturally. This, however, can only be accomplished by the Russians themselves, by the Russian people living in Russia."

**THE DIVIDING LINE OF EUROPE.** By Stephen Graham. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Denied a passport to Moscow because the Soviet Government felt that his visit could "serve no useful purpose," Mr. Graham traveled through Estonia, Bessarabia, Poland and the other Baltic States, and studied new Russia from "the dividing line." Mr. Graham is a severe critic. Bolshevist Russia to him is an unhappy land that is beset by darkness and cruelty. Of "Bolshevist culture," he writes:

The new Russia is no more like the old than Yiddish is like Russian; the new culture is a jargon culture super-imposed on the old culture. The old Russia brought manifold great gifts to the common altar; the new one brings only death and change. I find it commonly asserted that we have no quarrel with Bolshevist culture. But there is no such thing, unless the writings of Trotsky, the poems of Lunacharsky, the speeches of Zinoviev are to be considered such. Where are the plays of Soviet Russia, the music of it, the philosophy of it, the pictures? What culture has come forth? Zero; that is all.

**THE JEWS OF EASTERN EUROPE.** By Arnold D. Margolin. Foreword by James W. Gerard, former Ambassador of the United States to Germany. New York: Thomas Seltzer.

Mr. Margolin's new book is not only a rich mine of information on the position of the Jews in the former Russian Empire but throws a great deal of light upon the whole course of events in Eastern Europe since the outbreak of the





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World War. The first part of the book deals with the political life of the Jews in Russia before the revolution and the part they played in the revolution itself. The author, who participated in the moderate Socialist movement of Russia and Ukraine, holds that radicalism is not characteristic of the overwhelming majority of the Jews of Eastern Europe. After an investigation of the origin and nature of the Jewish pogroms before and after the Russian Revolution, Mr. Margolin tells at considerable length the inside story of the sensational trial of Mendel Beiliss for the so-called ritual murder—"one of the greatest tragedies which have fallen to the lot of the Jewish people during the thousands of years of our history." The last part of the book consists of various chapters on Jewish immigrant life in the New World. Mr. Margolin's first-hand knowledge of his subject, his experience as lawyer, diplomat and publicist, and finally his scholarship and capacity for literary expression combine to make his book one of both great importance and absorbing interest.

**DISRAELI: ALIEN PATRIOT.** By E. T. Raymond. New York: George H. Doran Company. \$4.

Mr. Raymond analyzes the conflicting elements which made up the character of this Victorian statesman, and offers an interesting explanation of Disraeli's brilliant career. Disraeli, this biographer holds, revealed his true political self through only one medium—his novels. Mr. Raymond therefore proceeds to a study of "Vivian Grey," "Tancred" and his other works on the assumption that the philosophy and political views contained therein represent the personal convictions of Disraeli himself. Mr. Raymond sees Disraeli as essentially an alien in English politics. The statesman's success, this author adds, was due more to sheer audacity and persistence than to any appreciation or understanding of the English people. Mr. Raymond summarizes Disraeli's life and significance in the following signal tribute:

He [Disraeli] was the one unquestionable genius of his age among the statesmen of England; \* \* \* he was the strangest mixture of prophet and comedian; \* \* \* he served England as well as she allowed him; \* \* \* he had always an imperfect sympathy with the party he led, and indeed with the party system itself; he had proved himself in most respects a man of honor and fine feeling, but in all respects a Jew.

**DIE AUSSERE WIRTSCHAFTSPOLITIK OSTERREICH - UNGARNS: MITTELEUROPAISCHE PLANE.** Von Minister a. d. Dr. Gustav Gratz und Sektionschef Professor Dr. Richard Schüller. Published for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace by Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn.

This new volume in the great series of works constituting the Economic and Social History of the World War, which is being edited by Dr. J. T. Shotwell, deals with the external economic policy of Austria-Hungary during the war in a most comprehensive and illuminating manner. After a review of the economic relations between

# A Glass of Wine with the Borgias



The youth hesitates, hand on glass. Will he obey the imperious look of command in the eyes of the beautiful Lucrezia—the magnet that has drawn him to this supper in the pontifical apartment? Will he yield to the ingratiating advances of Cæsar Borgia and partake of the proffered cup? Or will he be warned before it is too late by the sinister glance shot from the cruel eyes of the old Pontiff as he coldly calculates the destruction of the young gallant?

To comply or refuse is equally hazardous. If he decline the poisoned draught will he escape the knife of the hired assassin even now lurking in the shadows of the papal palace?

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Austria and Hungary, which were governed by the Ausgleich until the dissolution of the Dual Monarchy, the authors deal with the economic aspects of the Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest treaties, and finally with the Polish question in its various economic phases.

**SVETOVA REVOLUCE. (WORLD REVOLUTION) 1914-1918.** By Thomas Garrigue Masaryk. Prague.

The President of the Czechoslovak Republic here discusses the World War from the standpoint of the scholar and philosopher. Germany, he finds, was largely responsible for the conflict, though he also places some blame upon the growing difference between the civilization of Germany and the

civilization of the rest of Europe. Dr. Masaryk devotes a considerable part of his book to an analysis of the United States and American culture:

In Europe, and especially in Germany and Austria, "Americanism" is often criticized as though it involved a solely mechanical and materialistic outlook upon life. The omnipotence of the dollar, the absence of public instinct for public affairs, the lack of scholarship, are held to be fundamental defects. In my view, these objections are one-sided and exaggerated. From a German point of view, in particular, they are unjustified; for Germany has been dominated by a mechanism, a military, militarist State-mechanism, and materialism has been rampant alike in German philosophy and in practical life. Moreover, German scholarship and philosophy have been

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subordinated to the Prussian and Pan-German doctrine of violence.

Other aspects of American life, however, strike him less favorably. He is doubtful of the moral future of the United States and sees this country confronted with serious racial dangers. Americans will find the following paragraph as perhaps the most striking on this point:

If France is sometimes said to be in decadence on account of blood lost in wars and revolutions, America is thought, on the other hand, to be decaying precisely on account of her enjoyment of peace and possession of great wealth. Certainly, when America is called a young country, it must be remembered that her people are neither young nor new. They are chiefly of old European extraction, and some of them have exhausted their energy as pioneers. In Europe, decadence is also ascribed to overpopulation and its effects. America is sparsely populated, but, nevertheless, shows some symptoms of decadence. And who knows what the effects will be of the blending in America of a medley of races, not only in a moral, but also in a biological respect?

**WELLINGTON.** By the Hon. John Fortescue. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$3.

As King's Librarian Mr. Fortescue has had access to many Wellington manuscripts, hitherto unpublished. He draws from these as well as from other newly available data in this biography of the great British soldier. Mr. Fortescue devotes particular attention to Wellington's career as an administrator and statesman. In this regard the biography touches a new note. Mr. Fortescue considers that the civilian service rendered to England by Wellington was much underestimated. Wellington the civilian, he writes, should not be eclipsed by Wellington the soldier, and this thought supplies the keynote to his book.

**OUR POLAR FLIGHT.** By Roald Amundsen and Lincoln Ellsworth. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$5.

Journalism has already made the reader familiar with the outstanding facts of the Amundsen-Ellsworth flight to the North Pole. This book is a first-hand account of the adventure by the explorers themselves. Amundsen, Ellsworth and the others in their party tell the story of the preparations, the flight, the weeks in the ice, and finally the dramatic return of the party to Norway on July 5, 1925.

**THE UNITED STATES SENATE AND THE INTERNATIONAL COURT.** By Frances Kellor and Antonia Hatvany. New York: Thomas Seltzer.

An analysis of the organization and functions of the World Court, and an explanation of the attitude of the United States thereto. The first half of the book is devoted to a detailed study of the authority of the Court; the second half is a review of the policy of the United States with respect to the question of official participation in the work of the Court. In their conclusion the authors make a plea that this country formally adhere to the international tribunal:

To fulfill its pledge to adhere to the Court Statute the Republican Party should not violate its pledge to assume no obligations under the covenant. Both are valid promises to the American people. The United States should,

therefore, affiliate with the judicial functions of the Permanent Court of International Justice, but not with the political functions of the League of Nations.

**BY AIRPLANE TOWARDS THE NORTH POLE:** An account of an Expedition to Spitzbergen in the Summer of 1923. By Walter Mittelholzer and others. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Lieutenant Mittelholzer of the Swiss Air Force writes in a popular vein of a flight made to Spitzbergen in 1923. The story is simply told and is supplemented by forty-eight photographs of Arctic scenes. Other contributors to the volume are Professor A. Miethe, who writes on "Photography from an Airplane," and Captain H. Boykow, who discusses the "Geographical Value of the Photographs."

**AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND: 1066-1874.** By Charlotte M. Waters. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch. \$2.25.

Charlotte M. Waters, a well-known English educator and schoolmistress, has written a useful textbook, in which she traces the development of trade, agriculture and industry in England from the Middle Ages to the mid-Victorian era. The book, though written for school purposes, is not without interest for adults, since the style, being simple and direct, makes for facile reading. Among the outstanding chapters are those on "The Manorial System in the Thirteenth Century," "Rural England" and "High Farming and Free Trade, 1834-74." The author contributes a preface in which she discusses the relative merits of political and economic histories. The latter, she writes, can and should provide as dramatic reading as the former:

Life was quite as romantic to an Elizabethan apprentice as to Drake or Raleigh; the story of the Industrial Revolution is as tragic a mixture of enterprise and misery, idealism and selfishness as that of the Crusades. Romance is not merely a gaudy cloak and a dashing mien; there is romance in golden fields of corn; in perilous journeys by sea and land; in finding new worlds, not only across the seas but in fresh arts for human skill; in discovering new means of controlling the forces of nature; in winning new lands by draining bogs instead of by killing men.

**HISTORY OF ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN THE UNITED STATES.** By Walter W. Jennings. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell. \$4.50.

"The merits of this work, if it has any, are largely due to those who have written and criticized; its faults are due to the author alone." With these disarming words Professor Jennings concludes his foreword to what may perhaps prove the outstanding historical work of the year. The author visions the United States as an economic unit, which first took root about 1492. Reviewing the various population and labor problems of earliest Colonial days, he proceeds to the first era of manufacturing, which developed steadily up to the Revolutionary War. Professor Jennings then records the "Winning of Political and Commercial Independence, 1776-1815"; "The Expansion Period, 1816-1860";

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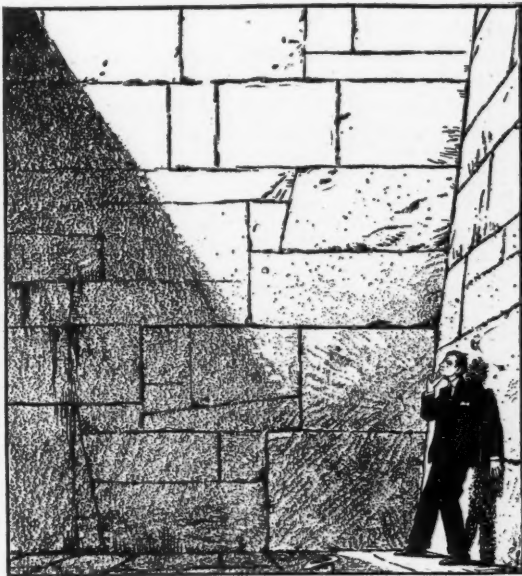
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"War and Recovery, 1861-1900," and "The Twentieth Century."

The book is notable for its perspective, impartiality and scholarly style. It presents a striking panorama of five centuries of economic America. Especially interesting are Professor Jennings's figures on the economic cost in lives to the United States of the World War:

Our participation in the European War cost us at least 109,740 lives, which, at a valuation of \$4,720, amounted to \$517,972,800. Perhaps the cost was well over \$1,000,000,000, for people have died since peace, and will continue to die because of shock, injuries or disease resulting from war.

**PROFITS.** By William Trufant Foster and Waddill Catchings. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.

This analysis and criticism of the present economic system is the work of Dr. Foster, a well-known educator, who was formerly President of Reed College, and Mr. Catchings, a New York broker of large interests. One of their main lines of attack is on the practice of "employing capital to make more capital." Our periodic prosperity, they write, is fallacious. The people proper are not adequately enjoying the fruits of their own labor. In support of this the authors cite the constant cycle of spells of business depression:

We work hard to pile our shelves full of highly desired commodities; and then have to stop working because we do not know how to take these things off the shelves and enjoy them. Though producing much less than our labor and capital under more favorable conditions might easily produce, we do not distribute to advantage even what we succeed in producing. We so involve ourselves at times that—incredible as it seems at first thought—we should actually benefit by giving the goods away, by sending them abroad to people who cannot pay for them, or even by burning them up.

**THE CLIMATES OF THE UNITED STATES.** By Robert De Courcy Ward, Professor of Climatology, Harvard University. Boston: Ginn & Co.

A leading climatologist of the United States here discusses the various types of weather experienced in various parts of this country. The author opens with a history of climatology. This science, he explains, has only lately received adequate recognition. Professor Ward considers his theme from many angles. Two of the outstanding chapters of his book are "Climate and Health" and "Climate and Crops." The proverbial sunny weather of California and Florida receives attention, as do the famous severe Winters of New England and the great Northwest.

**LET'S GO TO FLORIDA.** By Ralph Henry Barbour. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$2.

Mr. Barbour's book meets the mood of the hour. He tells of Florida's glories, both as a pleasure ground and as a place of residence. A more serious note is touched in the chapters on "Agriculture," "Industries" and "Plant Life." In them the author tells a story which is as valuable to the student as to the tourist or prospective settler. The book is handsomely illustrated.

**THE USAGES OF THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION.** By Herbert W. Horwill. New York: Oxford University Press.

Mr. Horwill analyzes the history and operation of the American Constitution. This document, he writes, is of international importance as a key to American government. In his preface the author expresses surprise that historians and students have not paid more attention to the American constitutional usage. He writes:

The subject of the present volume, although full of interest to English and American readers alike, occupies only a few pages of Lord Bryce's "American Commonwealth." It is, indeed, singular that American research, which during recent years seems to have peered into almost every nook and cranny of the edifice of American government, has so largely ignored the part played by usage in the actual working of the Constitution. Perhaps the explanation of such an oversight is that the importance of this subject is less likely to be recognized by an American than by an Englishman, in whose mental background the constitutional significance of usage is naturally prominent.

**LATIN AMERICA AND THE WAR.** By Percy Alvin Martin. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. \$3.50.

Dr. Martin, who is Professor of History at Stanford University, delivered the Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History at John Hopkins University in 1921. These lectures, revised and expanded, are now available in book form. The author covers the entire field of Central and South America and reviews the various diplomatic problems and policies of the different nations in regard to the World War. Dr. Martin observes that a wide divergency in policy was to be remarked. Of the twenty Latin-America Republics, eight eventually declared war on Germany, five severed relations with that nation and seven remained neutral. The author defends the right of these countries to act independently of each other or of the United States, and adds:

It is perhaps not remiss to recall that the tardy entry of the United States into the war should have made her people more disposed to suspend judgment in the case of those countries who elected to remain outside the conflict, especially when the rights of their citizens were in no wise placed in jeopardy.

**THE NEW NEGRO: AN INTERPRETATION.** Edited by Alain Locke. New York: Albert and Charles Boni. \$5.

Mr. Locke's book is virtually an anthology of achievement by the negro in America. The editor has drawn upon the works of several dozen distinguished colored men and women, who represent most of the fields of art, science, music, drama, literature and public affairs. The contributors include Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Dr. Robert R. Moton, Winold Reiss, Jean Toomer, Claude McKay, Langston Hughes, Roland Hayes, Paul Robeson, William Stanley Braithwaite and James Weldon Johnson.

The purpose of the work is epitomized in the concluding paragraph of Mr. Locke's preface:

Negro life is not only establishing new contacts and founding new centres, it is finding a new soul. We have as the heralding sign an unusual outburst of self-expression. The offerings of this book embody these ripening forces.



Earth's noblest thing, wrote Lowell. A necessary evil, a natural temptation, a desirable calamity, a domestic peril, a deadly fascination, and a painted ill, wrote St. Chrysostom a thousand years ago.



## Saints or Sinners

When the Emperor Theophilus jestingly said to one of the beauties of his court, *Woman is the source of evil in the world!* she quickly replied, *Woman is also the cause of much good!* Both were right; Joan of Arc and other saintly and noble women come to mind at once as typical of "earth's noblest thing," who have been the cause of much good. In contrast we have "the deadly fascination and the painted ill" of the daughters of Aphrodite, such as the capricious Venus Victrix whose remarkable beauty enslaved a ruler of proud Castile and whose power over him was so great that sycophant courtiers who attended this favorite at her bath drank of its waters in token of adulation. The stories of these two women, remarkable as they are, are no more unusual than those of other saints and sinners who have uplifted or degraded men throughout the ages since the day of Eve. These stories are told in a series of copyrighted volumes by ten talented contemporary authors in



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Woman dominates to-day. Her pre-eminence is undisputed. She is the *motif* of most discussions. A glance at our newspapers, magazines, and novels will show how great is the place she occupies in the thoughts of all, and how powerful is her influence for good or evil in every relationship of life. Yet this great subject has never been adequately treated. Of course we know a little about Cleopatra, Joan of Arc, Messalina, Theodora, Helen of Troy, Poppæa, Elizabeth of England, Catherine of Russia, and a few other prominent women. But little is known about these well-known characters and nothing at all about thousands of other equally important women who in the past and in all parts of the world have influenced the course of life, and these are only names and not women of flesh and blood, for few have any idea of what manner of women they really were, what they did, or what they stood for.

Many pages are necessary to make Cleopatra live before our eyes, to tell the many strange and interesting things about her. And there have been thousands of other women whose stories are just as interesting. The authors have not hesitated to tell the whole truth. If while concealing nothing, they show us the faults of woman, it is only to accentuate the virtues—if they tell us how a Russian countess in winter had water slowly poured over nude young girls in order to provide new statues for her gardens, they also tell us how Joan of Arc inspired the people of France. Love, marriage, and divorce are of course the subjects of many interesting chapters. We read about the singular customs of courtship, marriage, and divorce all over the world. We have interesting accounts of woman in the days of chivalry and romance; among the Moors, Turks, Arabs, Hindus, Chinese, and Japanese; and of woman in the church, in politics, in war, in industry; or famous as patriots and humanitarians.

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# Contemporary History AND BIOGRAPHY

**THE BIOLOGY OF POPULATION GROWTH.** By Raymond Pearl. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.50.

Professor Pearl, who is Director of the Institute of Biological Research at Johns Hopkins University, is already known as an author through his notable book, "Studies in Human Biology." In his new work he describes the results of protracted laboratory experiments in the breeding of organisms lower on the evolutionary scale than man. The result, he writes, is a confirmation of the theory that the same biological rules of population govern all species. Although Professor Pearl writes for the scientist rather than for the layman, his book is also of great interest to the general reader, because of the broad appeal of the author's conclusions as presented in the final chapter. He finds the world's population to be inevitably increasing at a great rate, and he asks: "Will this process necessarily increase the sum total of human misery, as we are told it will? I used to think so, but the longer I have pondered over the matter the less sure I feel about this conclusion." He admits the great likelihood that population pressure will lead to wars in the future, "as it has in the past," but adds that birth control and the growing adaptability of man offer a real hope for posterity: "Have we not overlooked to a large degree the largely unknown and unplumbed adaptive potentialities of the human organism? Is not adaptation the crux of the whole matter? \* \* \* Birth control is only one of the many ways by which mankind will succeed in adapting itself to the situation created by the biological law of population growth."

**A CENTURY OF PROGRESS: The History of the Delaware and Hudson Company, 1823-1923.** Albany: J. B. Lyon Company.

L. F. Loree, President of the Delaware and Hudson Company, points out in his preface that this book records the history of a railroad company, the progress of which "has been part of the progress of the United States and Canada, to which it has in due measure contributed." The Delaware and Hudson Company was founded chiefly as a canal navigation company, and after several decades of activity in this field turned to railroading, in which department real success was attained. The story is more or less an economic history of New York State during the past hundred years. Especially interesting are the chapters entitled, "The Civil War Period,

1861-1865" and "The World War Period, 1918-1920."

**THE WHEAT PIT.** By Edward Jerome Dies. Chicago: The Argyle Press.

A condensed history and analysis of the Chicago wheat pit. Mr. Dies writes for a popular rather than a critical audience. He offers no intricate financial study of stock manipulation, but instead describes the functions of the "pit" from the viewpoint of the layman. In closing, he deplores the "innumerable investigations" of the Chicago Exchanges, which, he declares, can usually be traced to "outside influence."

**AMERICAN FOREIGN INVESTMENTS.** By Robert W. Dunn. New York: The Viking Press. \$5.

The evolution of the United States in the brief span of thirteen years from a debtor nation owing \$3,000,000,000 to a creditor nation which has invested abroad a sum amounting to \$10,000,000,000 is one of the wonders of the twentieth century. Mr. Dunn reviews the present distribution of American capital outside the United States and gives a detailed analysis of American investments in practically every nation of the world. In his foreword he explains that the work was made possible through an appropriation by the American Fund for Public Service, Inc. The book concludes with a classification and survey. The text is supplemented by numerous tables and an extensive appendix.

**AMERICAN CITY GOVERNMENT.** By William Anderson. New York: Henry Holt & Co. \$5.

Mr. Anderson takes emphatic exception to the prevailing view that city government in America is usually less honest and less intelligent than the private administration of large industries. "There are many departments in city governments," he writes, "which are being handled as honestly as the best managed private businesses." Analyzing the history of city government in America, he sees it as moving steadily forward toward coherence and efficiency. He rebukes those who are constantly harping on the dishonesty of public officials:

It is interesting to observe how assiduously the idea of municipal inefficiency is spread abroad by those persons to whose interest it is to prevent the increase of municipal functions and who are to some extent directly responsible for the corruption and inefficiency

Continued on Page vi.

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that exist. \* \* \* A great many city dwellers have become imbued with the thought that private business is highly efficient and honest, while the public business is shot through and through with graft and inefficiency.

**THRASYMACHUS: OR, THE FUTURE OF MORALS.** By C. E. M. Joad. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$1.

The present freedom as regards marriage and the other conventions is declared by Mr. Joad to be the forerunner of a "new morality." This English critic sees the United States as leading the world both in morals and in the art of moralizing. He adds, however, that the result has been deplorable in that the "herd instinct" dominates in America and that there is no chance for "individuality." Mr. Joad proceeds:

America has produced the most congested [in the sense of spiritual stuffiness] and the most powerful herd on record. \* \* \* For this reason all American citizens strive to be exactly like each other, and, on the whole, they succeed. They have the same clothes, they live in the same houses, they have the same social habits, the same respect for money and the same suspicion of such superfluous eccentricities as thought, culture and art.

**ORIENTAL INTERPRETATIONS OF THE FAR EASTERN PROBLEM.** By Count Michimasa Soyeshima and Dr. P. W. Kuo, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Count Soyeshima, a member of the House of Peers of Japan, and Dr. Kuo, President of the Southeastern University, Nanking, China, delivered the Harris Foundation Lectures for 1925 at the University of Chicago. In these lectures, which are now available in book form, the authors discussed the Far Eastern problem as it affects their respective countries.

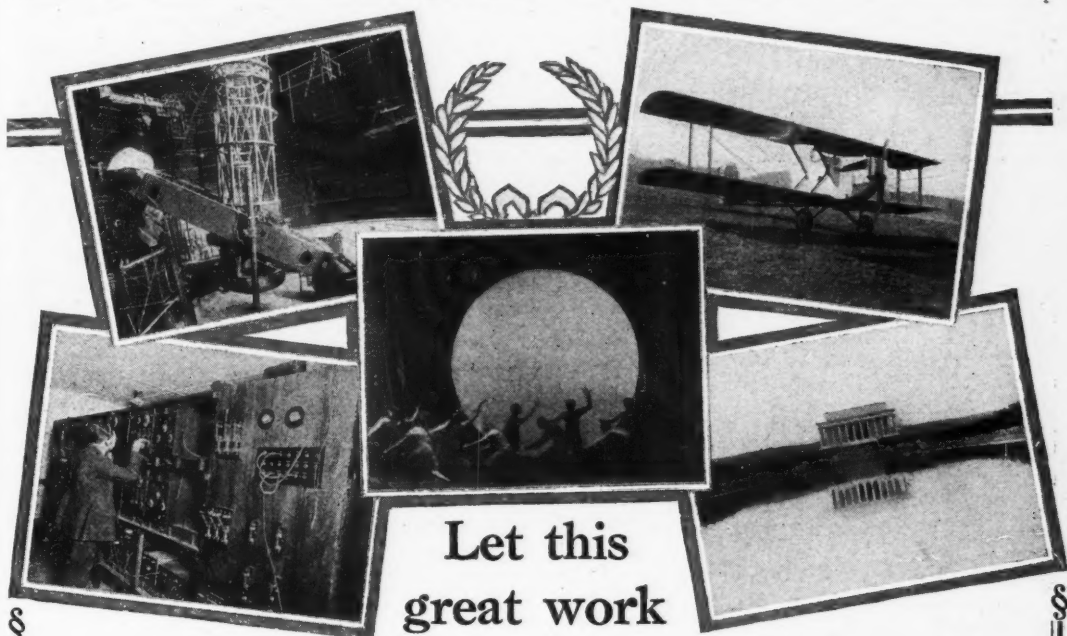
**OCCIDENTAL INTERPRETATIONS OF THE FAR EASTERN PROBLEM.** By H. G. W. Woodhead, H. K. Norton and Julian Arnold. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

The Occidental view of the problem of the Orient is presented by three well-known students of Far Eastern affairs. Mr. Woodhead is editor of *The Peking and Tientsin Times*, Mr. Arnold is American Commercial Attaché at Peking, China, and Mr. Norton is author of several works on Asiatic conditions. These papers were originally read as part of the 1925 program of the Harris Foundation Lectures at the University of Chicago. The authors discuss the Far Eastern situation in the light of their personal experience and knowledge and with particular reference to diplomatic relations between China and Japan and the leading nations of the Occident.

**BUILDERS OF THE EMPIRE.** By James N. Williamson. New York: Oxford University Press. \$3.25.

A series of historical studies of the outstanding figures in Great Britain's imperial development. Mr. Williamson writes simply but with a sense of the dramatic. His book is divided into three parts, "Pioneers of the Old Colonial Empire," "The Eighteenth Century" and "The Modern Empire." Among the empire builders whose careers are traced in these pages are Sir Francis





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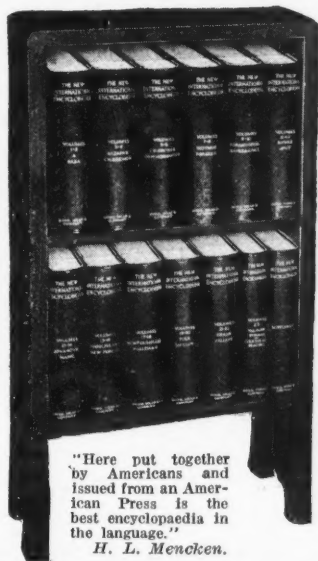
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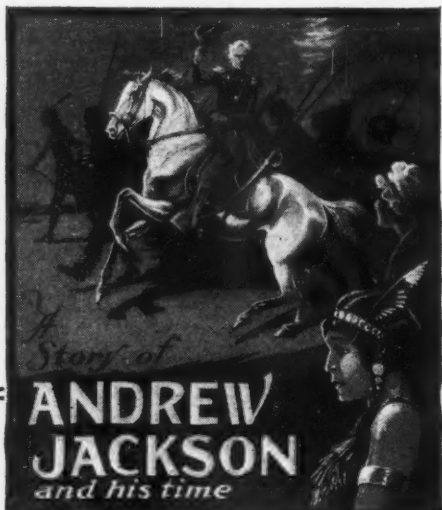
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Drake, Lord Clive, Cecil Rhodes, Lord Durham and Kitchener. The text is supplemented with numerous reproductions of historic woodcuts and maps.

**THE REVOLT OF MODERN YOUTH.** By Judge Ben B. Lindsey and Wainwright Evans. New York: Boni & Liveright.

Judge Lindsey's social reform work as presiding jurist of the Juvenile and Family Court of Denver is nationally known. His new book is not so much a recital of cases that have come before him as a study of modern youth in general. The jurist dictated his story to Mr. Evans, who prepared it for publication. Despite this indirect method, Judge Lindsey's marked personality is easily discernible in these pages. He expresses himself with force and conviction regarding the present disregard of the conventions. The main trouble, he asserts, is with the laws. Legislation has not kept step with the times. One of the chief problems is the prolific breeding among the impoverished. Judge Lindsey sees birth-control as the only solution of this problem. He draws a grim picture of "the hordes of morons who are at present spawning unchecked like the herrings in the sea, filling our insane asylums and prisons at such a rate that we cannot build fast enough to keep up with them. Relative to these hordes of degenerates, that part of our racial stock which ought to survive is dwindling. In my judgment this is the most serious problem we have today; and it is one to which as a nation we are giving no thought at all. \* \* \* Our present laws forbidding contraception have done much to bring this about. \* \* \* Certainly the first step should be to teach these teeming masses to have as few children as possible, or at any rate so few that they would be able to rear them properly."

**THE RELIGION OF YESTERDAY AND TOMORROW.** By Kirsopp Lake. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. \$2.

Dr. Lake, internationally known as a theologian and during recent years Professor of Early Christian History at Harvard University, sees the present controversy between fundamentalism and modernism as the possible forerunner of an era of unbelief. The Church, he writes, needs an "intellectual housecleaning," and unless this task is undertaken promptly "the generation now growing up will turn its back on organized Christianity." Dr. Lake observes that such a development would result in "a deplorable break in the continuity of religious history."

**AN AMBASSADOR'S MEMOIRS.** By Maurice Paleologue, last French Ambassador to the Russian Court. Translated by F. A. Holt, O. B. E., Volume III (Aug. 16, 1916-May 17, 1917). New York: George H. Doran Company. \$7.50.

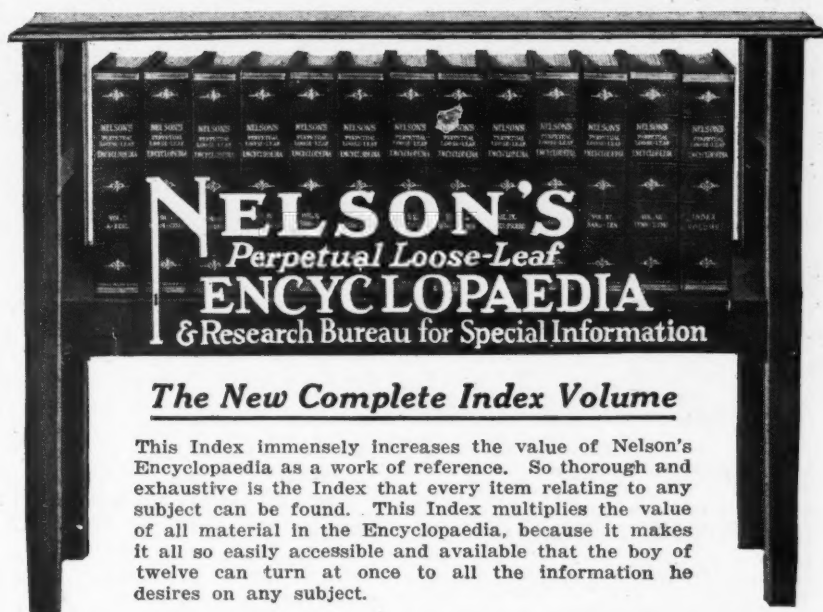
M. Paleologue concludes his contribution to history as it was made at St. Petersburg (now

Continued on Page x.

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Leningrad) during the last years of Russian imperial rule. This, the last volume, is pre-eminently the most important of M. Paleologue's three-volume work. The final year of his service at the former Russian capital was one of great turmoil and the French envoy was in a uniquely advantageous position to study the rapid succession of events. M. Paleologue writes informally, personally—a style which permits him to give freely of his own reactions to the Russian mood and atmosphere. His book is full of striking passages. There is, for instance, the answer he made in 1917 to a question regarding the relation of Czarism to the Russian people:

Czarism is not only the official form of the Russian Government; it is the very foundation, tie-beam and structure of the Russian community. It is Czarism which has made the historic individuality of Russia and still preserves it. The whole collective life of Russia is, so to speak, summed up in Czarism. \* \* \* My conclusion is that if Czarism collapsed it would bring the whole Russian edifice down with it in its fall. I even wonder whether national unity would survive.

**RED LETTER DAYS IN EUROPE.** By Viktor Flambeau. New York: George Sully & Co.

Travel in post-war Europe is at once stimulating and depressing, according to Mr. Flambeau, who describes a series of trips during recent years through the principal nations of the Continent. The scope of the author's travels is unusually broad and extends from North Africa to Scotland and from Ireland to Soviet Russia. The panorama which he unfolds is varied. Mr. Flambeau found starvation in Vienna, profiteering in Morocco and romance in Ireland. Perhaps the outstanding chapters of the book are those relating to the Scandinavian countries. While in Sweden the author met Ellen Key, the famous feminist; Prince Eugen, the brother of King Gustav, and other notables. "Miss Key," writes Mr. Flambeau, "was most interested in America's relation to European affairs and hoped that America would help Europe during the present crisis." The author quotes Miss Key as follows:

Americans must come and help the hungering people in Europe, for they can do it best. We have great difficulties in Europe now due to the bad harvest. So I say to good Americans: Open your purses, open your sacks of corn, of wheat, of whatever you have, and send it to Europe. \* \* \* Politically America is out of the affair, they have put themselves on record. I cannot judge about how wise they are to do so, but I feel sure that they are human and that they are feeling that they must try to help now in a much more effective way than they have yet done. Conditions are now hard here in Europe. But in America they are rich and great. Being in the war, they have suffered least of all the peoples in the war. And so I say to them that at least they may have the happiness now to be able to help.

**CHINA AND THE WEST: A Sketch of Their Intercourse.** By W. E. Soothill. New York: Oxford University Press American Branch. \$3.50.

The generally accepted theory that China's contact with the Occident dates back but a few

Continued on Page xii.



There is no one like him; there is no one remotely like him. He sees and describes not merely this man's love or that woman's inspiration, but the blind sweep and devastation of universal forces.

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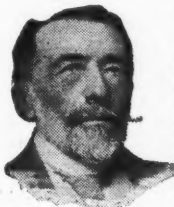
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centuries is rejected by Professor Soothill. "We do not know," he writes, "when China first met the West, but it is quite clear that there was intercourse before our era—as far back, indeed, as B. C. 150." The author describes the growth of trade in silks between the Chinese and the earliest Greeks. He traces the development of China as an international trading power through the succeeding centuries to date. Discussing the modern trend toward colonization of Chinese in the West, Professor Soothill writes that "both the British colonies and the United States of America have already serious problems of increasing native populations (of Chinese) to face within their own territories." Commenting upon present-day relations between China and the West, he adds: "It is from contact with the West that China has been awakened to a new life and to a new environment, into which it naturally has difficulty of adjustment. One thing may be accepted as axiomatic—China can never again live in isolation."

**HOW BRITAIN IS GOVERNED.** By Kate Rosenberg. New York: The People's Institute Publishing Company. \$1.

A simply written study of Great Britain's "unwritten" Constitution, and of the general history, growth and character of the British Government. The author describes the relation of Parliament to the Cabinet and of the Cabinet to the Crown. A chapter of particular interest is that entitled "Parliament and Crown," in which the author traces the history of Parliamentary control in Great Britain back to the trial of Charles I in 1648. Viscount Haldane contributes an introduction, in which he praises the book as "a valuable and helpful study, based on direct and careful inquiry."

**EUROPE'S NEW MAP.** By F. J. Adkins. New York: The People's Institute Publishing Company. \$1.

One outstanding result of the World War was its effect upon the political geography of Europe. Mr. Adkins reviews the chief changes which have come about in consequence of the creation of new States and the break-up of former empires. The political significance of such post-war republics as Czechoslovakia and Poland is considered in its relation to the rest of Europe. The author praises the Czechoslovak Government for its achievements since the establishment of independence in 1919. He writes that, considering her "internal difficulties," Czechoslovakia already has "a good deal of solid progress to her credit." With respect to Poland the author observes that this country has "difficulties ahead that will test all its powers."

**FRANCE AND THE FRENCH.** By Sisley Huddleston. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.

This well-known British journalist reviews the course of history in France since the Treaty of Versailles. The book is not so much a presenta-

tion of historical events as it is a study of national temperament and policy. Mr. Huddleston denies that the France of today is pre-eminently militaristic. Security from invasion is the chief desire of the nation, he points out, with reparations only a secondary issue to the French public. The author analyzes the changing political temper of the nation and intimates that the swing toward socialism in France has been less marked than is believed in foreign countries.

**POLITICIANS AND THE PRESS.** By Lord Beaverbrook. London: Hutchinson & Co.

The relation of the politician to the press is analyzed by one of the leading newspaper owners in England. As proprietor of *The London Daily Express* and *The London Evening Standard*, Lord Beaverbrook wields a powerful influence in politics. His book, however, suggests that the author's power is personal rather than editorial. Lord Beaverbrook writes frankly of his relations with Prime Ministers and of his efforts at various times to influence policy. Perhaps the most interesting passages in his book are those relating to the personalities of contemporary public men. Lord Beaverbrook sees former Premier Lloyd George as "prone to exaggerate the meanings of press comment." The author writes:

He [Lloyd George] reads too much into what is often merely the result of \* \* \* coincidence. He searches for a motive in every paragraph. He is keen to deduce from the movement of straws the way the wind is blowing. Often he is quite right in his deductions, but there is such a thing as searching too diligently. Lloyd George is apt to be the Martha of that world which oscillates between Downing Street and Fleet Street. He is busied about many matters.

**LIFE AND LETTERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON.** By Francis W. Hirst. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$3.

Mr. Hirst, a well-known English economist and editor, is avowedly at one with Jefferson and makes no secret of his admiration for that statesman. "Jefferson," he writes, "will be deemed not unworthy of a place beside Milton and Hampden and other heroic men who, down to our own times, have withstood the tyranny of priest, soldier, monarch or bureaucrat." The book is notable chiefly for its literary quality and for its numerous passages descriptive of Jefferson's private life and character. This passage from the author's estimate of Jefferson merits quotation:

To the student of political philosophy Jefferson is the most interesting of all American statesmen because he combined with a marvelous insight into the springs of human nature and into the motives that sway individuals or masses an extensive knowledge of political science and history. He was a theorist, a doctrinaire, an idealist, but always at school with experience. \* \* \* Among the founders of the Great Republic the statesman who wrote the Declaration of Independence and added Louisiana to the Union can never be forgotten. To those who, in spite of failures and disappointments, still rest their hopes of peaceful and civilized progress on representative government and popular education, Jefferson is a prophet, and more than a prophet.

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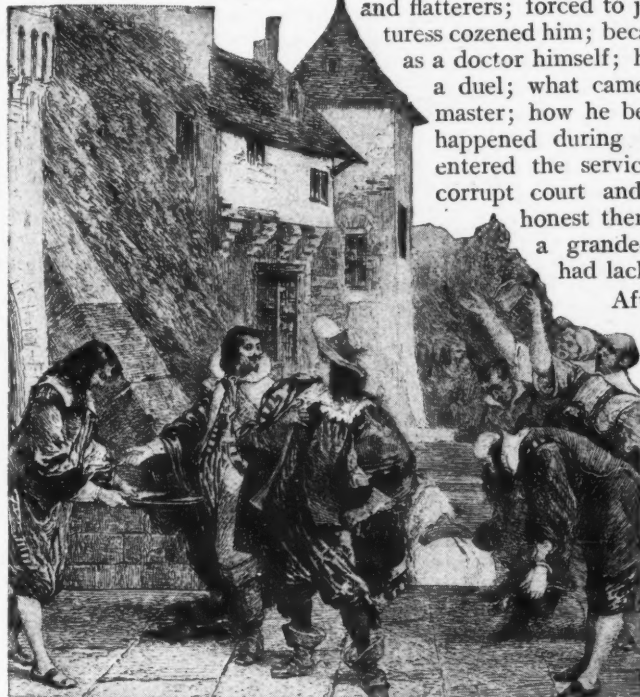
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Salamanca; was taught by bitter experience not to trust innkeepers and flatterers; forced to join a band of robbers; how an adventuress cozened him; became a lackey to a doctor, then practised as a doctor himself; how he sets up for a gallant and fights a duel; what came of writing love-letters for a rakish master; how he became steward to an actress and what happened during his life among stage folk; how he entered the service of an archbishop; tasted life at a corrupt court and learned the disadvantage of being honest there; how he and a young noble duped a grandee; how he rose to high place and had lackeys of his own, but fell again.

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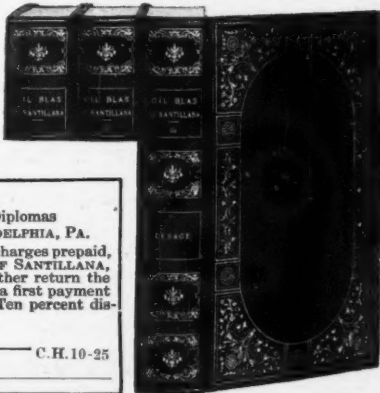
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# Current History Chronicles

**K** NOWLTON MIXER, author of "Siam Keeps Step With Twentieth Century Progress," which was one of the outstanding articles in the February issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, has been commended by his Majesty, King Rama VI of Siam, for the article. The Hon. Buri Navarasth, Siamese Minister to the United States, has written to Mr. Mixer the following letter:

Siamese Legation, Washington, D. C.  
Referring to my letter of the February 12 1 st, promising to transmit the copy of the CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE you sent me, containing your article on Siam, for presentation to the King, I beg to say that H. R. H. Prince Traidos Prabandh, Minister for Foreign Affairs, has duly presented the magazine to his Majesty, at whose command I now have the pleasure of conveying to you his Majesty's thanks for your article and for the friendly sentiments it contains toward Siam. Yours very truly,  
(Signed) BURI NAVARASTH,  
Siamese Minister.

Harold Scott Quigley, who joins the Board of Current History Associates with this issue of the magazine for the purpose of collaborating with Professor Quincy Wright in dealing with the month's events in the Far East, is Professor of Political Science in the University of Minnesota. He is specially qualified to write on Far Eastern affairs because of the research work he did while teaching at Tsing Hua College, Peking, and the attention he has given to the Orient since then. Professor Quigley's record shows that he has been a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford in England, an instructor in history and politics at Princeton, and a Professor of Political Science at Hamline University before joining the Faculty of the University of Minnesota.

Through a typographical error, the name of Leonard Stein, Political Secretary, World Zionist Organization, contributor of the article "Arab versus Jew in the New Palestine, from the Zionist Standpoint," published in the September issue of this magazine, was given as "Conrad" Stein.

Clayton G. Kohl, head of the Social Science Department, State Normal College, Bowling Green, Ohio, writes:

I use CURRENT HISTORY constantly in my classes at the college, and I urge every one of my students to subscribe for it as they go out to take teaching positions. I have welcomed the few articles each year that you have published dating back of current events. The article on Grotius in the June issue is serving me well.

Bruce L. Keenan, attorney, of Tahlequah, Okla., praises former Judge Winston's article, "Rebirth of the Southern States," in the July issue:

The peculiar value of the article is its sane matter coming from a Southern man. Certain

doubts might come if this were said by a Northern man. It is time the North and South should better and better understand each other. This condition is coming. Can we not hurry it along with such information as the Winston article?

Edward Motley Pickman of Bedford, Mass., takes exception to numerous features of the new educational plan at Dartmouth College, as it was set forth in August CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE by Professor A. C. White of Dartmouth. In an open letter to Professor White, a copy of which has been sent to this magazine, Mr. Pickman writes:

According to your article, Dartmouth has so modified her requirements for the Bachelor of Arts degree that a man will be able to get that degree without learning anything about the arts. For in his last two years a man need study only such subjects as he chooses, while in the first two he cannot study any art whether he wishes to or not.

This is certainly true of music, painting, sculpture and architecture. In regard to English you say the primary object of the course is to teach a man how to write clearly, logically and correctly. Now this may be learned by writing advertisements and financial statements—an art if you will, but hardly that art which inspired Shakespeare or Tolstoi. You make no suggestion that this course will teach anything about the nature of poetry or story telling, that it will try to develop imagination, taste or personality. Should a man elect the courses on philosophy and history he will get some notion of religion as an obsolete by-product of human evolution; but even this much is optional.

Now such a curriculum is all very well if Dartmouth professes merely to run a high-class professional school for scientifically minded citizens and does not pretend to give a liberal education. But I hope and suspect that she has no such modest intentions. Yet if she is seeking to attract the gifted boy, whatever may be his inclination, the method she has adopted is amazing. Certainly it is well to encourage and train the future scientist—political, natural or exact—for what each man invents by his brain accelerates the advance of science. But it may be even more important to encourage and train the future artist.

A copy of the above letter was sent to Professor White, who replies to Mr. Pickman in part as follows:

Your letter seems to me to advance three objections:

1. That the courses required during the first two years are not sufficiently inclusive. In accepting certain courses and rejecting others we make no claim to infallibility of judgment. It is possible that either blacksmithing or music should have been selected instead of citizenship as a requirement for freshman year. We tried, however, to the best of our poor ability, to pick courses we believed calculated to give a student a good foundation for his subsequent specialization, be it scientific or esthetic, or what not. As a result of experience, we can make appropriate changes.

2. That our plan neglects the esthetic and mystical aspects of culture. In the last two years we encourage the student to follow his own bent, be it scientific, esthetic, or what not, and we insist he show a reasonable mastery in his chosen field before we give him a degree.

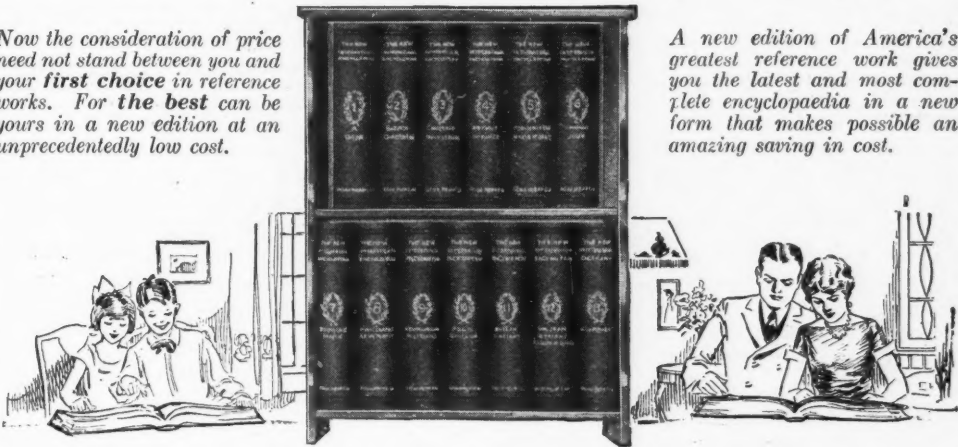
3. That the ideals of our English Department are as utilitarian as a correspondence school. We are, to be sure, guilty of insisting that our



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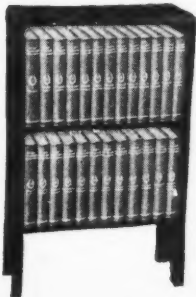
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scientific students write clear, idiomatic English. I myself have been guilty of helping certain of my own students to write plays which critics regard as literary and producers will risk their money on. But the main purpose of our English Department is to inspire in our students an appreciation of the true and beautiful in literature and to encourage their reading of the best. You perhaps note from our program that students majoring in English spend their last two years in college doing such reading, and, we hope, thinking about it. \* \* \*

Your feeling that the new educational scheme of Dartmouth will not attract the desirable type of student is refuted by the fact that since the publication of my article I have been receiving letters of inquiry from earnest, intelligent boys who, already entered as freshmen in other colleges, deciding that we are offering the best opportunity for the exceptional student, wish to apply for membership in the entering class at Dartmouth. I am also receiving letters from serious-minded educators in all parts of the country approving our plan and asking for suggestions as to how it might best be adapted to the needs of their own institutions. \* \* \*

Lois P. Myers, Editorial Writer, Portland (Ore.) Telegram, writes to the editor in defense of Portland's reputation as regards alcoholics. Disputing the figures given by Senator Bruce in his article on Prohibition in August CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, he says:

Senator Bruce gives figures on page 699 showing arrests for drunkenness in a number of cities. Portland is charged with 3,922 such arrests in 1924. Upon investigation we learn that the records on file at the police station show 3,141.

D. A. Klajin of New York, N. Y., an active figure in the Esperanto movement, writes to the editor in praise of the article, "Esperanto the New World Language," by James Denson Sayers, which appeared in the September issue:

It was indeed with keen pleasure that I saw the article about Esperanto and the International Language movement in general. I have been very active in the Esperanto movement in Europe and America for many years, having also read much of the history of the growth of the International Language idea and having studied most of the proposed solutions of the problem. I can heartily agree with the writer of the article, which I believe is one of the best, clearest presentations of the subject in its contemporary aspects that could be given in similar space.

Another note of approval of the article on Esperanto reaches the editor from Miss Mildred Green of Brooklyn, N. Y.:

To me it [the article] is going to meet a very great need in bringing countries to a closer relationship and understanding of one another.

I, as a school teacher, am going to try to introduce it in our school this coming session, for I know all that it has meant to me in the way of enlightenment derived from a correspondence with a Korean teacher and several worthwhile people in other countries with whom it would have been impossible to get in touch had it not been for Esperanto. \* \* \*

Mrs. W. de Bruche of 112 East Sixty-first Street, New York City, writes to congratulate CURRENT HISTORY "for bringing to light information that the public has long needed concerning the need of an international medium of communication such as Esperanto." She adds:

The author of this excellent article is to be thanked for awakening the people to the truth that outside of greed the chief cause of war is misunderstanding, and most of our failures to understand come because of difference in tongue.

We need a World Court, but when we have this court established we will need a language that all can understand—a language that does not arouse international jealousies. We need an international police force to enforce the laws of the World Court, but the members of this world protective body must be able to understand each other, to have some medium of communication besides a native tongue. \* \* \*

There is no use of my having a telephone unless you have one. Each one of us must learn this peace tongue if it is to bring peace. And having spoken the language since I was 3 years of age, I can truthfully say that nothing else that I have studied has produced in my mind the broadening influence of Esperanto—the fairy that helped to make Latin and all of the Romance tongues mere play in their acquisition, the tongue that has brought people from all over the world in close touch with me.

Dr. Lyon G. Tyler, editor of Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine, of Holdcroft, Charles City County, Va., disagrees with certain statements made by Judge Winston. "I rejoice in the prosperity of the South," Dr. Tyler writes, "and feel all the more pride that so much has been accomplished after a dislocating war and so much hostile legislation on the part of the Federal Government." With respect, however, to the question of intemperate leadership just before the Civil War, Dr. Tyler suggests that the South was not the only offender in this regard:

Judge Winston is certainly right in saying that there was in 1860 a great deal of wild talk in the South as to slavery, but much of this was undoubtedly due to the still wilder talk which was heard in the North. The Southern talk, though often aggressive in tone, was in its nature really defensive. It is absurd to suppose that "Bob Toombs" even seriously thought that he would call the roll of his slaves at the foot of Bunker Hill Monument. It was just a kind of defiance, and privately the Southerners laughed at Toombs. If Mr. Davis ever referred to the institution of slavery as divine, it was in the nature of a set-off to the ravings of the abolitionists, who declared that the Constitution, because of slavery, was "a covenant with death and agreement with hell." After all, it was not more difficult to believe the testimony of the Bible that slavery was of divine order than that the whale swallowed Jonah or that "the sun stood still and the moon stayed" on the command of Joshua, which is accepted today by a large portion of the best and most religious people in the United States, called "Fundamentalists."

Dr. Tyler offers also some interesting observations and statistics regarding the relative prosperity and progress of the Northern and Southern States:

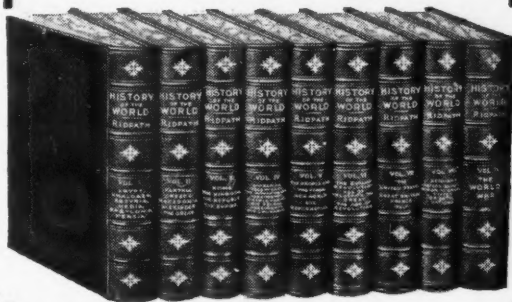
Does the South have the same importance in the Union politically or financially as it had in 1860? Of course not. The North is immeasurably stronger every way, and it needs no figures to prove what is apparent to every one. But make a limited comparison. Take the eleven States that went into secession and compare them with the twenty States that fought them, and how does it appear? Here some figuring is necessary, and I have done it with the following result: In 1860 the total wealth of the Southern States, exclusive of the assessed value of the negroes, was about \$3,100,000,000, and their population was 8,495,518, including negroes. The total wealth of the twenty Northern States was \$9,504,059,446 and their population was 18,690,650.

In 1920 the population of the Southern group was 27,408,979 and their wealth was \$43,446,124,000. The same year the population of the Northern group was 62,131,252 and their wealth was \$215,446,301,142. In these estimates none of the Western States created after 1860 is included, nor the States of Maryland, West Virginia, Ken-

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tucky and Missouri, that helped both sides in the war that followed 1860.

How stands the average per capita? The average for the Northern group in 1860 was \$508, and the average for the Southern group, counting in the negroes, was \$364. In 1920 the average for the Northern group per capita was \$3,467, and the average of the Southern group was \$1,585. It consequently follows that relatively the Southern group are much poorer than they were in 1860.

The negro question, Dr. Tyler adds, has been generally the occasion of much exaggeration and slighting of facts. He doubts that the backwardness of the South was due to this factor:

Slavery can never be defended on moral grounds, but it will not do to say that morality is always linked with financial success. For why so much talk nowadays of ill-gotten millions? Is Judge Winston's memory so short that he has forgotten that, under the Kaiser, Germany, whose Government allowed very little liberty to the citizen, became perhaps the most powerful country in the world educationally, politically and financially?

We have had enough of propaganda and booms in history. It is time that writers should turn over a new leaf and hew to the facts, however unemotional they may be. This is not a plea for slavery, but a plea for sanity and care in the statement of conclusions generally.

James Oneal, well-known Socialist writer and occasional contributor to this magazine, writes to the editor regarding Bruce Bliven's paper on "Progressivism at the Crossroads" in September CURRENT HISTORY, which he praises as "an excellent article." Mr. Oneal, however, dissents from

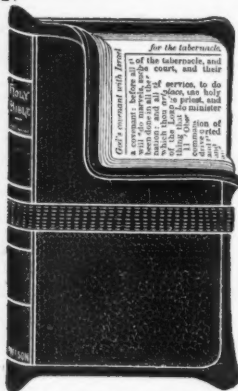
certain conclusions drawn by Mr. Bliven, and makes the following observations on these points:

As a student of the history of the Socialist movement in this country I am certain that he [Mr. Bliven] is misinformed when he asserts: (1) That the Socialists supported the third party movement last year because they were unable to make "an effective campaign of their own," and that they abandoned that movement because they now "believe their action of a year ago was unwise"; (2) that Socialists in theory are "bitterly opposed to all reformist efforts," and in supporting the third party movement were involved in a contradiction.

As to the first statement, it is true that the Socialists were weak, but they have often nominated their own candidates when the prospects were hopeless. They would have again nominated an independent ticket last year, whether strong or weak, were it not that many trade unions supported the third party movement, and there was a hope of this movement developing into a Labor Party like that in Great Britain. When the February convention of this year failed to organize a Labor Party the Socialists withdrew. We did not and do not now believe our action last year was "unwise." On the contrary, we will take similar action again should the trade unions show any promise of aiding in the establishment of a Labor Party.

Socialists are not opposed "to all reformist efforts." Party platforms, national, State and municipal, since the organization of the Socialist Party in 1901, are littered with reformist measures and proposals. They do not regard such proposals as being in conflict with their fundamental aim of reorganizing society. Curiously enough, Mr. Bliven states in one paragraph that we are opposed to reformist measures, and in the next paragraph admits that in cities where Socialists have acquired a measure of power they enact such measures.

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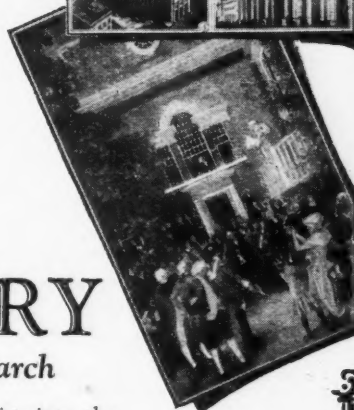
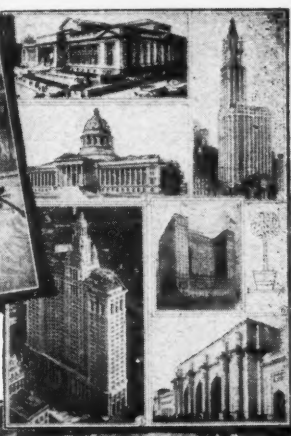
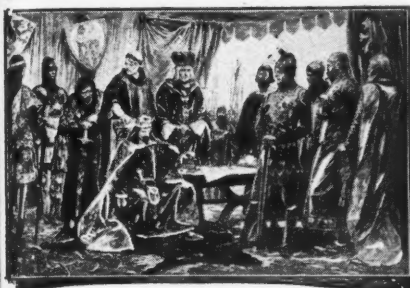
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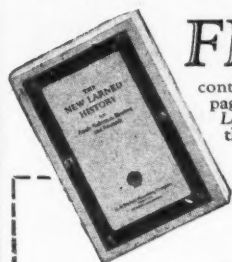
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# Current History Chronicles

**L**AXITY on the part of the citizen is a major cause of the present crime wave, asserts **John A. Lusk** of Guntersville, Ala., in a letter to the Editor. Dissenting from the views voiced by **Mark O. Prentiss** in his article on this question in the October issue of this magazine, Mr. Lusk refers to the statement that convictions of criminals are frequently upset by higher courts for technical reasons. Mr. Lusk defends the courts in these reversals. Errors in indictments are legitimate basis for the overthrow of convictions, he asserts, and he adds:

If Mr. Prentiss and his committee will give their attention to the selection and election of firm, vigorous, energetic, competent, expert and upright lawyers and judges and solicitors, and endeavor to cultivate a public spirit that will induce, or force, or cause, men of intelligence and firmness and of respect and reverence of the law, to serve as jurors, and not dodge and evade the discharge of public duty under one pretense and another, based upon the idea that they are too good, too high-toned, and too much of the upper class to serve on a jury, they can help to bring about a better enforcement of the law.

Considering Mr. Prentiss' question "Why does crime go unpunished?" Mr. Lusk writes:

There are several reasons why, among them the following:

The indisposition of the so-called better class to do jury duty.

The neglect of the very class of men who are engaged in this criticism to take the interest they ought to in the selection of judges, prosecuting attorneys, and executive officers, from the Governor to the constable.

And third, the selection, largely due to the neglect above pointed out, of inexperienced, incompetent and careless officials.

**John Nicholas Beffel** of New York discusses the crime wave question in an open letter to **Mark O. Prentiss**, author of an article on this subject in the October issue. Commenting on the possibility of stemming crime by the fingerprinting of all aliens, Mr. Beffel warns that such a plan is fraught with danger.

As co-author of the only book which has challenged the integrity of the fingerprint identification system, I want to take issue with you on this point. How many of you gentlemen who since 1917 have been advocating the fingerprinting of all aliens (and even of all citizens) understand the full significance of such a proposal? There is danger in it for innocent people.

Fingerprints can be forged. My collaborator, **Albert Wehde** of Chicago, jewelry engraver and photographer, has discovered a process whereby he can counterfeit finger impressions perfectly. He could lift your fingerprint from a paper weight or drinking glass and plant it on a gun, knife or safe involved in a murder, and under the prevailing rulings of the courts you could be tried for that crime, convicted of it, and even put to death, even though you had never set foot in the community where the murder was committed. No expert could distinguish the fraudulent finger-mark from a genuine print.

And anybody who can read and write, according to the widespread advertisements of the leading fingerprint school, can obtain a correspondence course for \$70 which, with a few

months of spare-time work, will qualify him as an expert who can go into court as a professional witness and swear away human lives.

With the forgery of fingerprints an established possibility, whose liberty or life is safe? If you believe that no policeman nor public official would "frame up" any one, it must be clear that a criminal might plant faked finger-marks at the scene of a crime of his own.

\* \* \*

The new cover, in four colors, for this issue of **CURRENT HISTORY** is a departure which we hope will be approved. There are also efforts to improve the typography, which we trust will not fail to commend themselves to our readers.

\* \* \*

Very high praise for the work which this magazine is performing has reached the editor from **Harry Elmer Barnes**, Professor of Historical Sociology at Smith College. "**CURRENT HISTORY**," he writes, "is an American institution with which no student or teacher of history could possibly dispense."

\* \* \*

**Professor Knight**, who contributes the interesting article on the Moroccan War, spent six weeks during July and August on the field of operations and was given the fullest opportunities to observe and investigate. It is a study at first hand by a capable, alert and well-qualified historian.

\* \* \*

**William Stearns Davis**, Professor of History, University of Minnesota, and one of the Associates who contributes to the Month's World History Department of this Magazine, sends us the following personal comment:

Allow me to congratulate you upon the growing success of **CURRENT HISTORY**. It is becoming a national service and a national institution, and I am very happy indeed to be in a small way associated with it.

\* \* \*

From **Charles Seymour** of the Department of History, Yale University, comes the following note of commendation:

May I extend my warm congratulations on the success of the plan which you inaugurated over a year ago for the Associates in history? While in Europe I have heard much commendation, not merely of the idea but of the effective way in which this department has been carried on. It is not merely of interest at the present time but will be of greatest value to future historians.

\* \* \*

**Daniel W. Chase** of Philadelphia, Pa., disagrees with the stand taken by Prof. W. S. Scarborough, in his article on "The Negro Farmer" in the January issue. Regarding Professor Scarborough's view that the negro should not emigrate northward, Mr. Chase writes:

It is safe to say that the negro is only follow-



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ing the given course of all humans, to go from place to place. We have it among all races. Men leave the cities of their birth, and go to other cities to make for themselves fame and fortune. In any place the number of native born, who have remained, is negligible. Not only does the prevalence of negroes in large numbers in the cities serve to render more complex the problems of housing, of health, of education and of government, but the presence of any other race or nationality in large numbers would have the same effect.

Dr. Scarborough needs only to remain in Philadelphia to find out that it is not the prevalence of negroes here that has caused vice and crime. Race prejudice was in Philadelphia, was in Cleveland, in Chicago, in New York, is in Washington, and has been before the negro population showed its increase. Segregation, race prejudice, and "all the ills that flesh is heir to" are eternal as the hills.

The problem, so called, will never be solved by relegating the negro to a certain sphere; it will never be solved by relegating any group, any race, to any given space. "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther" was never intended to be applied to man's ambition to better his condition, the condition of his wife, and the condition of his children.

\* \* \*

The appearance of Mr. Stefansson's article on the Arctic in this issue has a distinctive opportuneness. Public attention is focused on Polar exploration as never before. The MacMillan expedition is filling the newspapers with details of the journey that was not completed, and columns are printed daily regarding the preparations of Amundsen and Ellsworth to make another Polar flight by dirigible. Mr. Stefansson is always interesting. No one has studied the Arctic more thoroughly. He has lived in those regions for long periods and is endowed with a penetrating, analytical mind, with great ability to express himself, and with a background of experience and scholarship which give authority to his conclusions.

\* \* \*

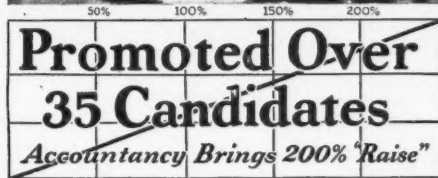
It was announced in Esthonia in September that the Government had decided in favor of "Estonia" as the official name of that country. In compliance, therefore, with the wishes of the Esthonian Government, that country will hereafter be referred to as "Estonia" in the pages of this magazine.

\* \* \*

Harry S. Morris of Woodfords, Me., writing in commendation of Professor Fay's article, "Serbia's War Guilt Revealed," which appeared in the October issue, makes the following suggestion:

May I be so bold as to suggest that while Professor Fay seems to have traveled in the right direction, he has not gone far enough. Had he not arrived at a "dead end"—had he only come across certain other authorities and followed up the trail but a little further, it would have taken him over a hill, and down a steep, crooked, tangled path, leading into a winding canyon. If the traveler will but follow the trail with grim determination, to the very end, I believe he would not only be astonished to find himself approaching, by a circuitous route, the city of Vienna, but would find himself in a quarter of the city where nobility resided. Indeed, it would not at all surprise me to find such an adventurer rubbing elbows with one or more of the four-score Hapsburg archdukes, duchesses, barons, countesses, bigwigs and what-nots who dodged starvation only by reason of the Hapsburg millions and, in some instances, by basking in the good graces of a senile Emperor who had never





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heard of the expression, "give me a staff of honor for my age." Perhaps these heirs, who dreaded the eventual administration of the Hapsburg Estates by the war-ambitious Francis Ferdinand, might in turn have known of a continuation of the trail, leading through a similar canyon which for generations had connected the Foreign Offices of Vienna and Berlin! Who knows?

\* \* \*

Martin Lepp of New York, N. Y., takes exception to some of the statements made by Ales Broz, in his article supporting the Czech side of the Czech-Slovak controversy in Czechoslovakia, which appeared in the August issue of this magazine. Mr. Lepp writes that, upon the conclusion of the World War, when the Republic of Czechoslovakia was first organized, "the Czechs came in and took control of nearly every important place (in Slovakia) and put in two or three Czech officials where there was only one before." Mr. Lepp's letter continues:

Mr. Broz says that Slovaks already have what the Czechoslovak Agreement (Pittsburska Dohoda) calls for, but that is not so. If our people had what this agreement called for they would not be fighting for it. People do not fight for what they already have. The Irish stopped fighting when they got even a little less than what they were after.

President Masaryk himself signed the Czechoslovak Agreement in 1918. It only calls for State Autonomy for Slovakia, which every State in this country has. I cannot understand how any person living here under our State autonomous system can be opposed to the same kind of system for some other people elsewhere. Among the Slovak leaders who are opposed to autonomy for Slovakia are people of alleged bad reputation, and they are constantly being accused of receiving money from the present Prague Government for their stand.

\* \* \*

Many readers write to express their approval of the article on Esperanto by J. D. Sayers which appeared in the September issue. Jaime Vilaseca of New York in expressing his appreciation, adds some interesting comment on the growing prestige of the international language:

Esperanto is recognized by the Chamber of Commerce for the State of New York, 65 Liberty Street, New York, where examinations are being held for students who desire to enter services as correspondents in foreign languages or to travel in foreign countries for travel bureaus or other large commercial enterprises. Furthermore, Esperanto has for years been in use as a commercial corresponding language, so that today one can write a letter in this language to any concern in Europe and be sure of getting a response. All Chambers of Commerce in Europe, all great expositions, all commercial high schools, technical colleges and universities are acquainted with Esperanto. The famous Summer resorts are continuously sending out Esperanto literature advertising their attractions. At railroad, steamship, post and telegraph offices there are officers who are helping foreigners by the medium of Esperanto. The International Transport Workers' Union, a labor body with a membership of over 2,000,000 men, has decided to recommend and teach this language to its members.

Stanley Koyminski, Secretary of the Cleveland Esperanto Society of Cleveland, Ohio, writes to state that the Esperanto article was received with enthusiasm by the members of the Cleveland society:

It is very encouraging to the workers in the

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Esperanto movement to note that valuable space has been given to their cause by a magazine of the calibre and standing enjoyed by CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. Therefore, I hope to have the pleasure of reading further articles on Esperanto in your valued columns in the near future.

H. B. Hastings of Boston, Mass., also discussing the value of Esperanto, writes:

There is no question as to the great utility of an easily learned international language by means of which communication could be had with all nations without the need of a new language at each frontier.

Still another expression of approval of Mr. Sayers' article reaches the editor from J. M. Bogan of Dallas, Texas. "Mr. Sayers," Mr. Bogan writes, "has well voiced the general desire for a universal language."

Further commendation of the article comes from Augusta S. Lovewell of Brookline, Mass., who writes:

I have felt for some time that magazines and papers were missing many opportunities for good "news" that would be of interest to more readers than they suppose. Most of us who are interested in the language have an opportunity to see papers published in other countries and we find many items of interest which we wish might find a place in publications in the United States. I sincerely hope that this is not the only mention which your magazine will make of the international language.

Ferdinand Banks of 3,393 Wayne Avenue, New York City, offers the following comment on the articles discussing the Scopes trial in September CURRENT HISTORY:

The editors of your magazine had a brilliant idea when they published no fewer than three articles on this epoch-making event in the intellectual development of the American people. \*\*\*

The main point I should like to make is that the trial need not give rise to such pessimistic ideas about our people as some thinkers are putting forward. Despite the backwardness that the anti-evolution movement indicates, the American people are advancing intellectually far more rapidly than they are given credit for, and, I believe, in another generation, so far from our looking to England, France, Germany and other European countries for the greatest achievements in thought and art, it will be from our own American soil that the mightiest achievements of the human intellect will spring.

My belief is based upon the fact that it is only when a nation has risen high in the scale of prosperity and material welfare and thus made possible an abundance of wealth and leisure that the great works in art and philosophy and science result. To take but one instance—Flemish art. That was possible only because the merchants of Flanders had a superfluity of material wealth to lavish upon the creation of beautiful things. In other words, a wealthy community has the means to support scientists and scholars and artists.

Today America's material resources are uncontestedly the greatest the world has ever seen, and as our young men and women become better trained and cultural influence becomes deeper and broader, there can be no doubt that there will be a flowering of the beautiful and significant things of thought and art, not merely comparable to the Renaissance, but greater and still more magnificent. American life is still largely permeated by provincialism and obscurantism, but our increased wealth and, still more, our growing educational facilities and cultural forces are slowly but surely bound to prevail.



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# Current History Chronicles

Wayne B. Wheeler, Counsel of the Anti-Saloon League of America, and author of an article in defense of prohibition which appeared in August CURRENT HISTORY, writes in reply to the article on the same subject by Fabian Franklin, which was published in the October issue:

It was probably in some haste like that which made Solomon forget to exclude himself when he said "all men are liars," that made Mr. Fabian Franklin characterize my recent article in CURRENT HISTORY as "done with gross and blundering crudeness." Had he taken time to ascertain the facts, it is improbable that he would have so forgotten himself.

Mr. Franklin admits the accuracy of my figures on the increased home-building under prohibition, but asserts that they are misleading since the buying value of the dollar has changed. Realty experts disagree with Mr. Franklin. Felix Isman in a widely circulated study wrote of the real estate development: "Let no one say it is absurd that prohibition had a dominant part." William D. Kilpatrick of the Real Estate Board of New York recently said: "Prohibition's benefits to realty have been enormous." W. Franklin Burnham, President of the Massachusetts Real Estate Exchange, credits the realty boom in Massachusetts to prohibition and finds home-seekers more numerous than ever before. C. N. Chadbourne of Minneapolis, Minn., coiner of the word "realtor" has secured the adoption by many real estate boards throughout the country of resolutions declaring the benefits prohibition has brought to realty and condemn-

ing those who patronize bootleggers, thus interfering with those benefits.

The fact that floor space in new residential buildings has not increased as greatly as the cost, as quoted by Mr. Franklin, is due to the fact that most of the residential building is not of the workingman's home type, made possible by prohibition. There are over 8,000,000 members of building and loan associations today, and, as a statement of the New York Trust Company remarks, "this number is growing every day." The dollar that once went for booze now goes for a new home.

While I would not accuse Mr. Franklin of "blundering crudeness" or "mis-statements," I would like to correct his statement that the total expenditures of charitable societies for relief "had always been less than \$100,000,000." Robert W. Kelso of the Boston Council of Social Agencies, writing in the issue of "Money Raising and Administrative Methods," for October, 1923, a bi-monthly section of "Better Times," the New York Welfare Magazine, conservatively estimates the country's annual contribution to charity as \$200,000,000. This does not include the unpublished gifts by churches, lodges and clubs, or by private individuals to the families of black sheep or prodigals. These unreported sums, given quietly to avoid imposing the stigma of charity on the victims of the liquor traffic, mounted yearly to staggering sums. Experience of many charitable societies has shown that from 50 to 70 per cent. of cases of destitution in former years were directly or indirectly connected with intemperance. Comparatively few families where the wage earners were abstainers sought help. The Committee of Fifty in its report twenty years ago gave 37 per cent. as the pro-

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portion of pauper inmates of public institutions who were victims of intemperance. The Boston Family Welfare Association in a published tabulation of reports from other charitable societies, estimates at 74 per cent, the reduction since prohibition in the number of cases of poverty due to intemperance.

Mr. Franklin may argue that "the death rate has been decreasing for decades." It has been but it never decreased so precipitously nor maintained its low level after a decrease so continuously as since prohibition closed the source of much disease, lowered vitality and death.

Mr. Franklin believes in the "crime wave" myth, apparently. We have a higher crime ratio than other nations. We had this unpleasant distinction before prohibition. We have reduced that ratio in liquor-caused cases since we stopped the legal sale of one of crime's principal causes. That is why Massachusetts has closed one-third of her jails; why the Census Bureau finds a decrease of 5.8 per 100,000 in the comparable criminal data in 1922 compared with 1917; why Commissioner Enright even in wet New York points to the drop in crime, including violent crime, since his Administration began in 1918; why such authorities as Judge William N. Gemmill find jail populations diminishing and United States District Attorney Olsen of Chicago declares that crimes against the Federal Government have decreased over a third in his district last year. We have too much crime but we have less crime than when we maintained crime nurseries and called them saloons.

In view of all this, would it be at all discourteous to suggest that if any one has been guilty of "blundering crudeness," it might possibly be Mr. Franklin?

Prohibition, by modifying drunkenness, has materially reduced the tasks of charitable organizations, asserts **Charles E. Manierre**, lawyer, of New York, in a letter to the editor. Mr. Manierre dissents from the views expressed by Fabian Franklin in his article on this subject in the October issue. Reviewing Mr. Franklin's claim that, as far as poverty is concerned, the beneficial effects of prohibition had been exaggerated, Mr. Manierre writes that "the drink habit" is one of the three primary causes of poverty:

The first cause of poverty would be unforeseen catastrophes, which would include ill-health and accidents as well as financial losses. Such cases as these are of a kind which can be effectively and most satisfactorily helped. It requires but time and patience to counteract such misfortunes. Secondly, I would mention subnormal mentality. Families of this class are always in trouble and have to be helped more or less indefinitely, and they pass down this defect to indefinite generations. We are likely to "have the poor always with us" for this abominable reason. Thirdly, the poverty resulting from the liquor traffic. This is an obstinate and the most discouraging type, and most frequently ends only with the death of the addict. If he has a family, it has to be cared for in various institutions, from which, in due time, the members frequently issue forth only to become problems themselves in the future.

This reader concludes his letter with the following comment:

That prohibition has very largely cut down the charitable requirements is obvious from the statements of The Salvation Army and from others qualified to speak, and every investigator has admitted that there was very little of the effects of drunkenness to be seen on our public streets, showing a remarkable diminution of the fact itself.

Many readers of Professor Franklin's article may be mystified by his figures, but in view of their own knowledge, they cannot be far misled as to the unreliability of his deductions.

**A. W. Becker**, of Los Angeles, Cal., writes: Like all the other adversaries of the Eighteenth

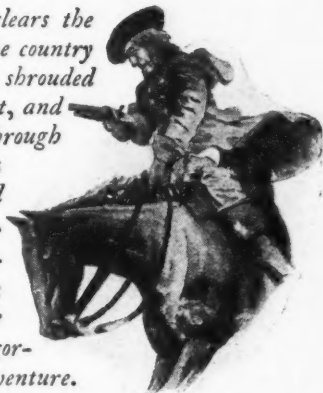


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Amendment you don't seem to realize that most people are not against alcoholic drinks per se, but that, seeing the vice, crime and misery in general caused by them, they cannot help trying to get rid of this damnable evil, in the same way as one tries to exterminate rattlesnakes on account of their poisonous bites.

Dr. Zachary Taylor, of Woodlawn, Baltimore County, Md., writes to the editor in protest against the serious restraint which he says the Prohibition law imposes upon doctors in their professional activities of healing the sick. Observing that he himself has always been "an advocate of temperance and the closing of corner grog shops," Dr. Taylor criticizes the law for what he calls its "enslavement of the physician." He writes:

The wording of the Prohibition law inhibits me from prescribing alcoholic stimulants in sufficient quantities to save life, especially pneumonia and "flu," where from ten to twenty ounces of pure alcoholic liquor should be administered each day for the first two or three days in order to save life. No other drug or remedy can be, or ever has been used to combat this dreadful disease with the success attained through the medicinal effects of alcoholic stimulation, which keeps the heart alive (a vital consideration) by serving as fuel (carbon) and thus preventing the inroads of the fever (fire) from burning up the fluids of the body and thereby weakening the heart. The heart, it should be remembered, must be safeguarded by the best and surest proved remedy in the hands of the physician, viz.: whisky or brandy, together with other adjuncts. Strong liquor when administered to a pneumonia patient, or those afflicted with other inflammatory fevers never intoxicates or leaves a hungering for it, to make addicts. I have never lost a pneumonia patient in my

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long experience (I have practiced for more than 50 years) if called to the bedside within forty-eight hours of an attack, if the patient was under sixty of age, and not a drunkard, alcohol being the "sheet anchor."

Dr. Taylor points out that pneumonia is only one of many serious maladies, which can be arrested or cured by the use of intoxicants:

Others who suffer and need a stimulant to take instead of morphine and other narcotics for ease and comfort and for fear of becoming addicts, are the cancer sufferers, or those afflicted with tuberculosis, melancholia, neurasthenia, cardiac (heart) troubles, the incurables, invalids of various stages, the dying, the aged, &c., who by taking a pure alcoholic stimulant are greatly helped, benefited and strengthened, especially so in their declining years.

He closes his letter with a suggestion that the physicians' organizations unite in an appeal to the United States Supreme Court for relief. "The law," Dr. Taylor writes, "has robbed us of our inalienable professional rights and is unconstitutional."

Charles F. Z. Caracristi, American engineer and geologist, writes to the editor from Caracas, Venezuela, regarding the use of the term "America" as synonymous with "The United States." Observing that this practice was initiated by Theodore Roosevelt, as President, Mr. Caracristi characterizes it as "unwarranted" and "the comic achievement of all ages from an international viewpoint." This correspondent continues:

"The Colossus of the North" has stolen the name of the whole continent. Besides, there is no warrant in law for such a comical alias for a perfectly honorable nation. This "America" business has made us more enemies than any other act in Latin-America. In fact, I had planned to bring it before the Supreme Court of the United States, so as to force the setting aside of a usage that is clearly as illegal as it is ridiculous.

Martin Lepp, of New York writes to the editor in praise of the articles on the Serajevo assassinations, which appeared in the October and November issues. Commenting upon Professor Fay's revelations of the Black Hand plot in Serbia, which led to the World War, Mr. Lepp writes:

You are rendering great service to decent people by exposing things like that. So far I had heard very little about those plots. I was very glad when I saw them so well explained in your magazine. I do not think that all those plotters' organizations in Serbia have been broken up. It is quite important that somebody check up on these Black Hand leaders in Serbia and find out what is left of them and what they are doing.

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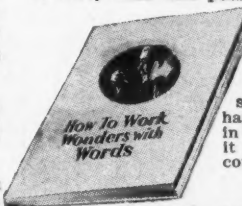
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# Current History Chronicles

**F. VERNON WILLEY**, President of the Federation of British Industries, and **Guy Locock**, the Assistant Director of that organization, recently spent several weeks in the United States to investigate and report on the industrial situation in this country, with particular regard to the methods of manufacture and the resources, and in general to thoroughly analyze the economic status of the United States. The survey was made deliberately. The distinguished investigators, who represent the united industrial organizations of Great Britain, had the cooperation of the British Embassy at Washington, the Consulate General at New York, the British Chamber of Commerce, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, the National Industrial Conference Board of the United States, as well as high United States officials identified with the Department of Commerce and numerous leading Americans connected with industrial, financial and commercial corporations.

The investigation was systematic, thorough and penetrating, being conducted by skilled and experienced men who typify the highest standards and achievements of British industry. These distinguished British investigators embody their findings in an enlightening and exhaustive study, which has the highest value as a document. The conclusions of the visiting industrialists are of profound importance, and will prove as interesting and informative to the American public as they are to Europeans.

The result of this significant investigation is made available to the public for the first time in this issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

**John W. Bennett** of Washington, D. C., writes to deny Serbia's responsibility for the World War. Commenting upon Professor S. B. Fay's articles, "Serbia's War Guilt Revealed" and "The Black Hand Plot That Caused War," Mr. Bennett makes the following observations:

Intrinsic evidence makes it certain that Professor Fay has written as an advocate who had reached a conclusion and had attempted to prove it. The title of the first article assumes that Serbia had war guilt, but implied that theretofore it had been hidden. Reading the article, one finds that is, in fact, the thesis. It is to be hoped that a professor of history does not take so narrow a view as is indicated by the title to the second article—that a Black Hand plot CAUSED the World War. It would be quite as intelligent to say that the mobbing of Lloyd Garrison caused the Civil War, or the Boston tea party the American Revolution. Surely Professor Fay knows the difference between causes and incidents. \* \* \* There is an inexorable logic of circumstances with which all direct evidence must harmonize if such evidence is to lead us to valid conclusions. Professor Fay seems wholly to ignore that logic of circumstances.

Why would Serbia force a war at that particular time, when she knew her friends were unprepared and her enemies prepared to the minute, when by waiting three years her friends

would have been prepared rather fully and her enemies would probably have lost ground?

There is but one answer: the Serbians in authority would not force such a war unless they were either fools or traitors to Serbia. But Professor Fay, while recognizing the facts of this situation, gives them no weight at all in reaching his conclusions.

On the other hand, it is quite in accord with the situation that hot-headed Bosnian patriots, chafing under Austrian oppression, might slay the person whom they considered the personification of that oppression, regardless of immediate consequences. It is also quite believable that these hot-headed youths might have had the sympathy and the moral support of hot-headed and reckless kinsmen in Serbia, and that some of these kinsmen, or at least racial brethren, might have held official positions in Serbia.

That the Serbian nation, as a nation, and its responsible administrators hatched and directed such a plot is so thoroughly out of accord with the logic of the situation that even the briefs of Professor Fay fail to convict or to convince. In fact, most of his evidence supports the theory of Slav hotheads in Bosnia and in Serbia rather than the Serbian nation having been responsible for the murder, although he reads into his evidence the guilt of Serbia.

\* \* \*

The article by J. D. Sayers on "Esperanto—the New World Language," which appeared in September CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, continues to evoke comments of approval among Esperanto societies in the United States. The Esperanto Association of California at its annual convention recently instructed the Secretary, **Lucy Marshall**, to write a letter of thanks to this magazine. The Secretary's letter has just reached the Editor. Remarking that the article was read and widely commented on at the convention, the Secretary adds:

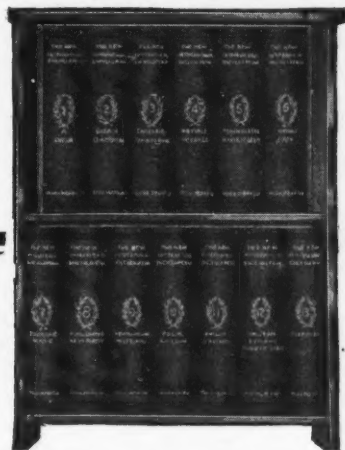
The grave need for an auxiliary language is apparent to any one who merely stops to think on the subject. Esperanto is fairly flooding Europe; in the City of Vienna alone there are twenty-seven Esperanto societies; the radio people are awakening to the fact that they need Esperanto; the peace people need a common tongue, otherwise how can they interchange ideas? Therefore, we must look to the great American publications to stimulate interest in this movement.

\* \* \*

**E. U. Menzi** of Oberlin, Ohio, writes in praise of United States Representative M. L. Davey's article on "Fertility Decline in American Soil." "The article," observes Mr. Menzi, "should be of interest to every American who prizes his country above the dollars he may extract from its soil. I hope that many will take time to read it."

\* \* \*

**Dr. Mack Eastman** of the Research Division of the International Labor Office, Geneva, Switzerland, sends to the editor a copy of a letter he received from the Belgian Ministry of National Defense, containing some interesting statistics with respect to Belgium's losses in the World War. According to the official statement, the total of Belgian dead in the European zone, including those killed and those who died of wounds or sickness, up to Sept. 30, 1921, was 40,367. The



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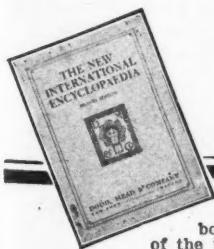
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Ministry's statement adds that a later list, completed on Sept. 30, 1925, placed the total Belgian dead in the European zone at 41,063, of which 1,602 were officers and 39,461 were enlisted men.

Concerning the operations of Belgium in the Belgian Congo, Africa, the Belgian Ministry places the total of dead at 27,995, of which 150 were Europeans and 27,845 natives.

\* \* \*

A. J. Jackson of Fort Ogden, Fla., writes to the editor to suggest, as a solution of the Franco-American debt problem, that France cede one of her colonies to the United States in full payment of the obligation, "giving the United States freedom to choose the colony to be ceded." Such action, Mr. Jackson adds, would benefit the United States, "as the restored value of the franc which would result would greatly increase trade between the two countries."

\* \* \*

"A splendid article," writes J. F. Wright of Detroit, Mich., in commenting upon the contribution, "Blundering Parents—Bad Children," by Florence Hull Winterburn, which appeared in the November CURRENT HISTORY. Mr. Wright, who is the founder of the Pathfinders, a reform organization in Detroit, declares that the article "is thoroughly in harmony with my own experience after nearly fifty years' study of the problem."

\* \* \*

William Henry Chamberlin, author of "Peasant Progress in Soviet Russia," which appeared in the October issue, and who was referred to as Russian correspondent of the United Press and the Christian Science Monitor, writes to state that his work for the United Press was "only of a strictly temporary character," and that he is "the regular Moscow correspondent only of the Christian Science Monitor."

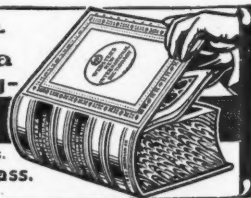
\* \* \*

Commenting upon Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover's article on "Foreign Monopolies of Raw Materials" in the December issue, H. V. F. Jones of New York observes that Mr. Hoover "must be working in a 'water-tight' compartment from Secretary Jardine [of the Department of Agriculture], who is advocating the pooling and holding up of Iowa's corn crop and thus keeping up the price of corn to the consumer here and abroad." Secretary Jardine's campaign, suggests Mr. Jones, might be considered as "on a par with

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Brazil's effort to obtain a fair price for her coffee."

Another commentator on Secretary Hoover's article is **Thomas W. Fayman** of Harrisburg, Pa., who, conceding that Mr. Hoover's contention as regards the profiteering by foreign monopolies is fair, urges that action be taken in the domestic coal strike question. Mr. Fayman protests against the rising price of coal, and declares this issue to be of equal moment to that presented by the trend toward international monopolies in foreign lands.

\* \* \*

**Colonel Charles F. Z. Caracristi**, an American engineer and geologist and a native of Virginia, writes to the editor from Caracas, Venezuela, offering some interesting comments on the present relations between the peoples of North and South America. Colonel Caracristi praises "the honorable and useful Pan American Union," which he sees as an instrument of much value in promoting good feeling between the races. He adds:

When James G. Blaine conceived the Bureau of the American Republics, now the Pan-American Union, he told William E. Curtis, the first director, in my presence, that the direction should be changed every four years, and that nations should be entitled to the director in rotation.

Colonel Caracristi observes that this policy has not been followed, that instead the directorship is constantly retained by the United States, and that as a result "it is now being said that the Pan American Union advances the interests of the United States while the various nations are paying the bills." He continues:

Dr. Leo S. Rowe, the present director, is certainly giving the most efficient service ever rendered by the Union, and is the very highest type of international official, but we cannot do away with the idea that exists in the brain of the rest of America that the Union is today only a toy in the hands of our country.

\* \* \*

The article "Secrets of British Diplomacy," by Professor **Charles Seymour** of Yale University, which appeared in the December issue, was a study of the British Foreign Office, based largely upon the revelations made by Viscount Grey, former British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in his new book, "Twenty-five Years: 1892-1916." This notable work is published in two volumes by the Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York.

\* \* \*

The Rev. **Gwilym Davies**, M. A., of Cardiff, Wales, Honorary Director of the Welsh National Council of the League of Nations Union, writing from New York, pays the following tribute to this magazine:

I have just been reading your issue for December, and I congratulate you on a fine number. Your magazine deserves to be much better known in Great Britain.

\* \* \*

**Curtis D. Wilbur**, the Secretary of the Navy,

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# THE ANNALIST

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who contributes an article on "American Achievement in Aviation" to this issue, is a strong believer in the policy of keeping the naval air arm as an integral part of the Navy Department. Secretary Wilbur, it will be recalled, opposed Colonel William Mitchell's plan for a separate air force on the ground that such would impair the efficiency of the nation's naval defenses. President Coolidge, in his message to Congress on Dec. 8, upheld Secretary Wilbur on this much-discussed issue, and remarked that "no radical change in the service seems necessary."

Conditions in Damascus are still far from normal. The Rev. **Elias Newman** of the Irish Mission at Damascus, who describes "The Bombardment of Damascus" in this issue, faced difficulties in the task of mailing his manuscript. In a letter accompanying his contribution Mr. Newman writes: "I crossed the border and mailed the article from Haifa, Palestine." Mr. Newman is a Presbyterian minister and a member of the Chicago Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.

**Theodore E. Burton**, member of the House of Representatives from Ohio, recently completed an exhaustive study of the growth of crime in this country. The statistics he compiled and the conclusions he reached are embodied in an article in this issue.

**William MacDonald**, lecturer on American History at Yale University and author of the article "The Conference at Locarno" in the December issue, writes to the editor as follows:

Mr. Denys P. Myers has courteously called my attention to an error which crept into my article, and I beg the opportunity to correct it. The summary given on Page 322 of Articles 42, 43 and 44 of the Treaty of Versailles should be amended by omitting reference to Article 44, the other two articles being the only ones directly mentioned in the Locarno treaty.

Several letters have reached the editor in praise of the very thorough manner in which the Locarno settlement was treated in the December **CURRENT HISTORY**, which, in addition to printing the text of the treaties, contained articles dealing with them from three different points of view—by Senator George W. Wharton, a Republican, Norman H. Davis, an exponent of Wilsonism, and Professor William MacDonald, one of our leading American historians. In reply to our correspondents who have been so appreciative, we wish to say that **CURRENT HISTORY** tries at all times to present as accurately and impartially as possible the facts relating to international affairs or any other subject that falls within the scope of the magazine. But we are aware that even irrefutable facts can be presented and still more can be interpreted in entirely different ways, according to the preconceived ideas of different individuals. For that reason it becomes necessary to hear both sides, and sometimes several sides, and so **CURRENT HISTORY** enlists the pens of authoritative and ex-



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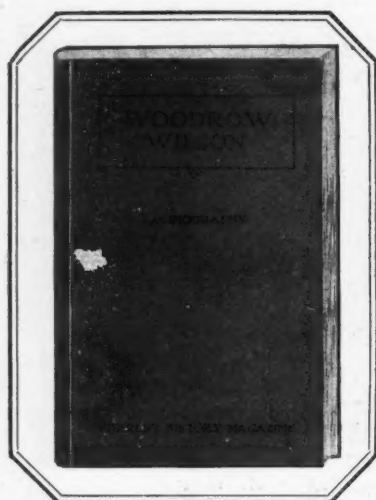
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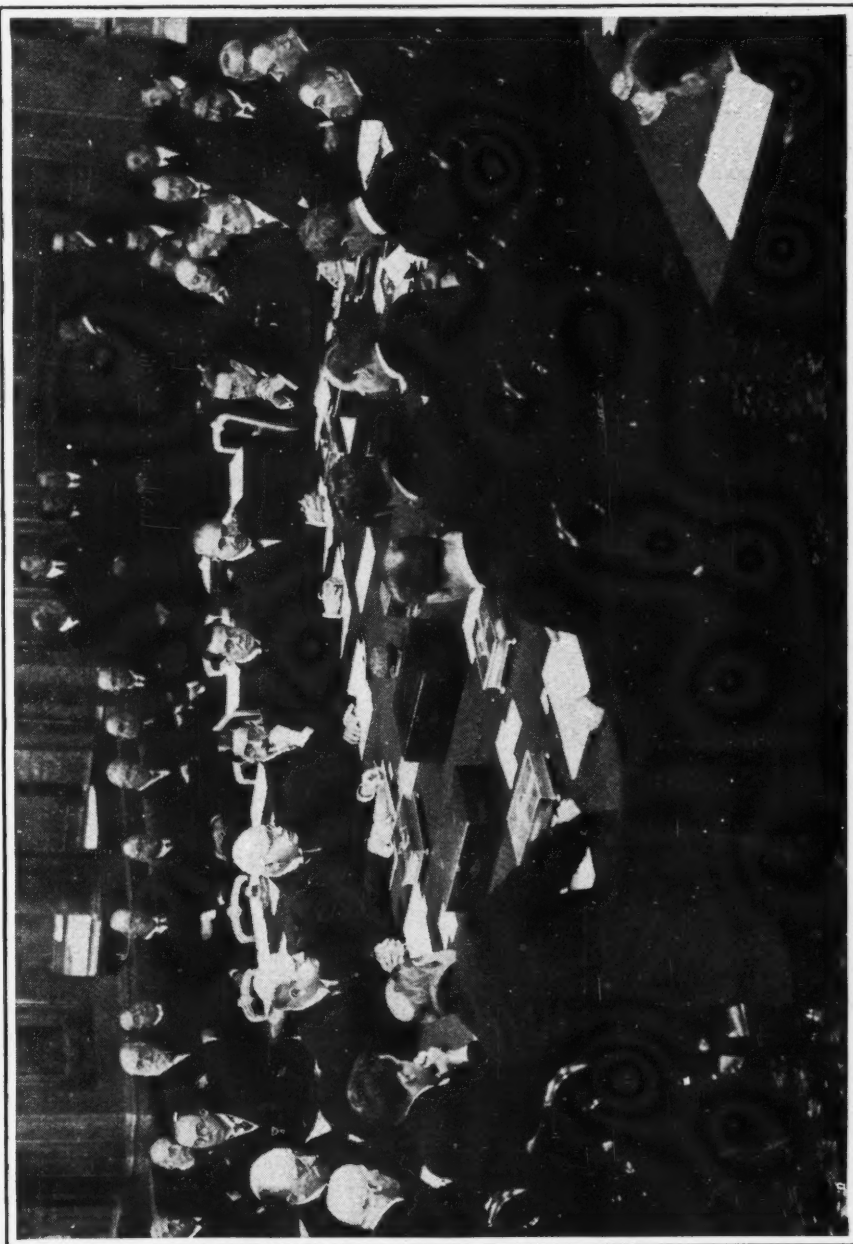
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pert writers. The treatment of the Locarno settlement in the December number was, therefore, in accordance with the policy of a magazine which does not express its own editorial views. Nevertheless, the editors are not going beyond their self-imposed reticence if they say that they cannot but help joining in expressing the hope that the historic gathering in London on Dec. 1, 1925, when the documents embodying the settlement

reached at Locarno were signed, will usher in a new era of peace, progress and prosperity for Europe. *CURRENT HISTORY*, it will be remembered, began its career as a recorder of world events in the early months of the war, and for almost four years its pages were filled with the horrors and miseries of armed strife. Far more congenial is our task now, as we hope it will remain, to serve as the chroniclers of peace.

## SIGNING THE LOCARNO PACTS



Wide World  
The scene at the Foreign Office, London, on Dec. 1, 1925, when the Locarno Treaties were signed by representatives of seven nations. Seated at the head of the table is Sir Austen Chamberlain, the British Foreign Secretary, and next to him, leaning forward, is Stanley Baldwin, the British Prime Minister. On the other side, at the right of the photograph, is Aristide Briand, the French Foreign Minister, and opposite, toward the end of the table, are Herr Luther and Herr Stresemann.

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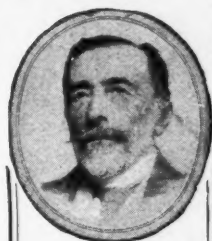
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CURRENT HISTORY has earned the gratitude of all students of recent and contemporary history. The monthly reviews of current events which it publishes, as written by the Board of Current History Associates, provide an authoritative summary, which is invaluable for purposes of reference. This will be appreciated by any one compelled to look up the date and salient aspects of an event which has occurred some months or years past; for it is always the history of day before yesterday which is forgotten. Of particular importance is the publication of important documents with comments by qualified students. I have in mind especially such documents as appeared last July, which threw a flood of light on the House Mission to Europe in November, 1917.

\* \* \*

**Philip Marshall Brown**, Professor of International Law, Princeton University, is now a member of the Board of Current History Associates, in charge of the department of international affairs, succeeding Professor McElroy, who resigned last Spring to accept the Professorship of American History at Oxford University. Professor Brown was invited to become a member of the board immediately on the resignation of Professor McElroy and accepted, but was unable to assume the duties until the present on account of absence in Europe. His first contribution as a member of the board appears in this issue of the magazine.

Professor Brown, who was born at Hampton, Me., on July 31, 1875, is a graduate of Harvard. He was connected with the American Legation at Constantinople in 1901-03; Secretary of the American Legation, Guatemala and Honduras, 1903-07; Secretary of the American Embassy, Constantinople, 1907 (Chargé d'Affaires 1908); Minister to Honduras, 1908-10; instructor in International Law, Harvard University, 1912-13; Assistant Professor of International Law and Diplomacy, 1913, and Professor of International Law, Princeton University, since 1915. He is Associate Editor of the American Journal of International Law, a member of the Institute of International Law, Brussels, and the author of various books on international questions.

The international section of the Month's World History since Professor McElroy's retirement has been very ably conducted by Dr. William MacDonald of Yale, who has also been covering the United States. Dr. MacDonald's brilliant work for CURRENT HISTORY will continue in the section devoted to the month's events in the United States.

\* \* \*

**Carl Becker**, Professor of European History, Cornell University, has become a member of the

Board of Current History Associates and will contribute the monthly survey of events in France and Belgium. Professor William Stearns Davis of the University of Minnesota, whom Professor Becker succeeds, tendered his resignation, much to the regret of the Editor, on account of the increasing pressure of his professional duties at his university. Professor Davis has been a member of the Board of Associates from its organization, and his ripe scholarship and high attainments have proved a valuable asset to the board. Professor Becker's acceptance is a source of gratification to the Editor, as he ranks among the most distinguished American historians. He is a native of Iowa, born Sept. 7, 1873, has held the chair of European History at Cornell since 1917 and has been a member of the Board of Editors of the American Historical Review since 1915.

\* \* \*

**Edmund Marshall** of Detroit, Mich., writes, in respect to the question of blame for the outbreak of the World War, that "the Kaiser has impliedly admitted responsibility for the cataclysm." This admission, Mr. Marshall adds, was given to George Sylvester Viereck, who quoted it in a newspaper article. Mr. Marshall's letter continues:

In one of a series of articles by Mr. Viereck, giving reports of interviews with the former Kaiser, the following statement by the latter is recorded:

"My entire policy would have been altered if a certain brief memorandum submitted by Ambassador von Holleben to the Foreign Office had come to my personal attention."

And, says Viereck:

"The Kaiser's remark bears on the 'gentlemen's agreement' which he is convinced exists between the United States and Great Britain."

Mr. Marshall concludes:

The thought I would submit to the several historians who are giving the late war their special attention, is that the Kaiser by his remark impliedly admits responsibility for the cataclysm.

The admission that the Kaiser's "entire policy would have been altered," implies freedom of action on his part; hence, is he not responsible for what did take place?

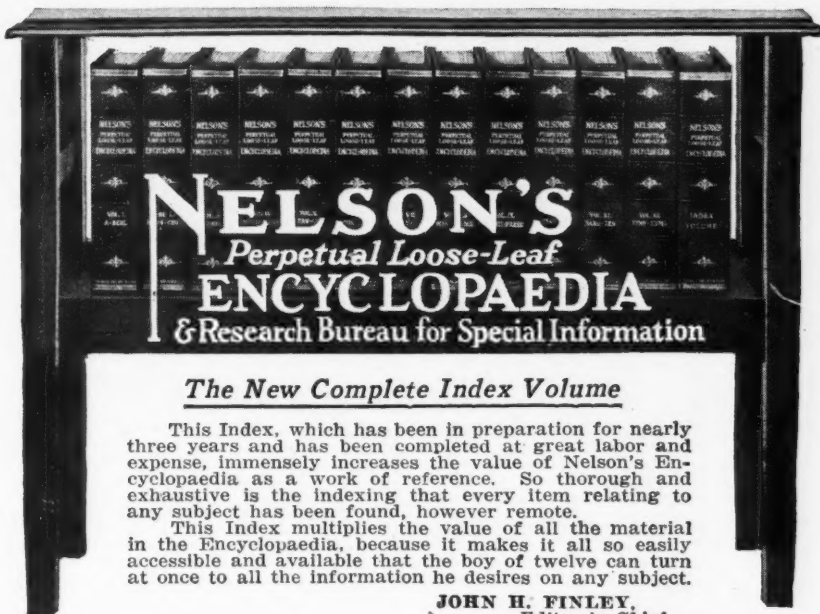
\* \* \*

**F. L. Egelhof** of Colton, Cal., writes to the Editor in praise of the various articles recently published on the League of Nations and the Locarno Conference. Discussing the provisions of the Locarno Agreement, Mr. Egelhof suggests that these should have been more specific as regards the League's authority in a war emergency. "I wonder," he writes, "why it was not made clear what the League might do, in case one Government gets into conflict with another, and neither should seek advice from the League, but, instead, should insist upon settling the dispute without outside interference?" He also observes that the agreement is defective in that it contains no pro-



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visions as to the League's attitude in case of a "make-believe or real revolution in one or more countries."

\* \* \*

Jay Zorn of New York, N. Y., dissents from certain views expressed by Professor Turner in his article on "Repudiation of Debts by States of the Union," in the January issue. Commenting upon Professor Turner's statement that the Southern States, in repudiating their debts, offered substantially the same defense as was more recently offered by the Bolsheviks for the repudiation of the Russian Imperialist debts, Mr. Zorn protests against what he terms "the inexactness of this parallel." This correspondent adds:

A really analogous situation would be if the Czarist Government had been overthrown and submerged by a Bolshevik régime, during which a questionable issue of bonds had been effected, and, then, after a period of years, the Czarist Government had been restored and had thereupon repudiated the Bolshevik bonds.

\* \* \*

The articles, "Italy's Inverted Bolshevism," by Robert Dell, and "Fascism as an Alternative to Anarchy," by "A Member of the Italian Aristocracy," both of which appeared in the January issue, have excited widespread interest among CURRENT HISTORY readers. In the Editor's mail are numerous references to the Italian situation, as viewed by the two writers. One reader writes:

The article by "A Member of the Italian Aristocracy" is excellent. The real meaning of the Fascisti movement in Italy is that it is "making Italians." Before Fascism there were no "Italians," because each inhabitant of Italy thought of himself as a member of his "home town"; he did not think of United Italy. Cavour, the great Italian statesman, realized this defect (inevitable under the past history of Italy) in the Italians of his day. Cavour said, when United Italy became a fact: "We have made Italy, now we must make Italians." But it has taken sixty years to do so, and it would never have come about if the great war had not arrived.

\* \* \*

Commenting upon Representative Davey's recent article on the decline in fertility of soil in the United States, J. W. Lockhart of St. John, Wash., writes to offer some observations based on his own experiences "as the owner of 480 acres of good wheat land in Washington." Admitting "that for several years agriculture in this country has been extremely unprofitable and that many farms have been abandoned, and many previously successful farmers forced into bankruptcy," Mr. Lockhart maintains, however, that the quality of the soil is only one element to be considered in this question. He writes:

Several factors have contributed to this deplorable result, but, obviously, it is unfair and unjust to agriculture to attribute such result, or the major portion of it, to any one factor, and least of all to soil depletion, careless or criminal farming. It should be remembered that agriculture is unprofitable only in comparison with other industries generally, and the extraordinary wages paid for labor and salaries as handling and transportation charges.

Representative Boile of Iowa certainly understood this part of the situation when he recently said: "Unless Congress can give some

relief the farmers might retaliate by an attack on the tariff and a strike on manufacturers. I do not mean to say this will be done, but it is the mood of many farmers. Their prices have collapsed, but the freight rate, the interest rate and the price of goods they must buy from the manufacturers have stayed up." Mr. Boile should have added to his catalogue of burdens from which the farmers cannot escape the enormous cost of public improvements in general, the interest on bonds issued therefor, the interest on the public debt, the cost of education and many other things that might be mentioned.

In the presence of the Government crop statistics, accessible to all who wish to inform themselves, it is useless, or worse, to attempt to show that for the last fifty years soil depletion has been materially responsible for the present deplorable financial condition of agriculture in this country. The figures do not show, as has been asserted by many who should have been better informed, that the per acre production of cereal crops has been materially diminished during the last fifty years. In every instance the figures show the reverse to be the fact. For more than fifty years there has been a slight but fairly constant increase in the per acre yield of all cereal crops.

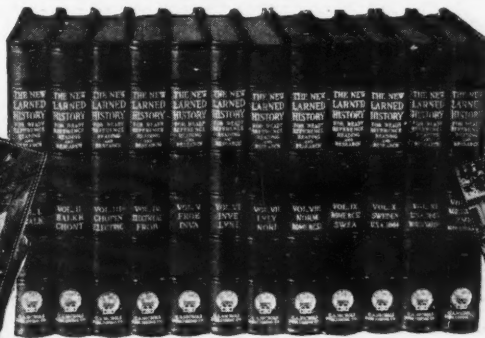
The tables on page 172 of the United States Statistical Abstract for 1921 show that for the 1866-75 period the average per acre yield of corn was 26.1 bushels. For the 1896-1900 period it was 25.5 bushels. For the year 1920 the average yield per acre was 31.5 bushels and for 1921, 29.7 bushels. With the single exception of 1901, when, on account of climatic conditions, the yield was but 16.7 bushels, the lowest yield was in 1913, 23.1 bushels; the highest yield per acre was in 1920, 31.5 bushels, and between those figures the average yield per acre of corn fluctuated for fifty-five years.

In Massachusetts, where some of the soil has been under cultivation for 300 years, the production of corn in 1910 amounted to 2,048,000 bushels, and in 1921 to 3,120,000 bushels. In Vermont the production of corn in 1910 was 1,892,000 bushels, and in 1921, 4,510,000. From 1910 to 1921 the State of New York increased her production of corn more than 16,500,000 bushels. During the same period New Jersey increased her corn production 1,715,000 bushels. For the same period the increased production amounted to 17,642,000 bushels. In Ohio, said to be one of the most impoverished of States, the increase was 14,786,000 bushels.

The average yield per acre and the total amount of wheat production in this country is no less reassuring than contradictory of the pessimistic propaganda relating to our impoverished farms soils and abandoned farms. In regard to wheat production per acre for the last fifty-five years the Government figures show that for the 1866-75 period the average yield was 11.9 bushels per acre; for the 1896-1900 period, 13.2 bushels. Since that time the lowest yield per acre was in 1916, 12.2 bushels, while in the previous year, 1915, the average yield was 17 bushels per acre. For fifty-five years the average yield of wheat has fluctuated between the figures given, with the highest average yield for the 1906-19 period.

The States in which there has been a large reduction in the number of bushels of wheat produced are, with few exceptions, in the South, where more land has been devoted to corn and cotton. It is possible that the production of corn more than compensates for the reduced production of wheat. For the ten-year period 1910-20 the States of New York, Ohio, Virginia, Pennsylvania and Iowa have about held their own in wheat production and have, in addition, increased their production of corn.

The one great lesson to be learned from the above figures, and many more of like import that can be produced, is that some of our agricultural experts have evidently been seriously mistaken in regard to the material impoverishment of the once fertile soils of this country. The trouble with the experts seems to be that they place too much reliance on laboratory experimentation as against the



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practical experiments of some millions of farmers in the field. They discount the intelligence of the farmer, but sad experience has taught the farmer how to raise the best crops. The laboratory experts fail to understand that the field of laboratory work is far too limited to furnish more than a small fraction of the data necessary for sound conclusions. \* \* \*

The great burden that farmers are obliged to bear under our present economic system, not soil deterioration, is responsible for thousands of abandoned farms and is the real menace to agriculture in this country. The sooner this fact is thoroughly comprehended by intelligent business men the better for all concerned. The burden on the shoulders of agriculture is constantly growing, with no relief in sight. The sop of Government assistance and subsidies will prove a delusion and a snare.

\* \* \*

T. H. Hunter of Regina, Canada, takes exception to certain statements contained in the article, "A Roman Catholic View of Evolution," by Sir Bertram Windle, in the November CURRENT HISTORY. Mr. Hunter writes to the Editor to deny that Servetus was "slowly burned to death by order of Calvin on account of his [Servetus's] book, 'Christianismi Restitutio.'" Mr. Hunter adds:

The facts are that upon the publication of this famous religio-medical treatise at Vienna in 1552 Servetus was tried by the Inquisition, but, having managed to escape, was condemned in his absence to be "burned alive at a slow fire till his body be reduced to a cinder." The award of the Court was perforce carried out by the substitution of the effigy of Servetus for the heresiarch himself. (See Allwoerden, Historia Mich. Serv.) All this despite the fact that at the trial he disowned his books, denied his handwriting and professed himself a son of his Holy Mother the Church. So far from Calvin having attempted to increase the sufferings of the condemned man, he is the only person who tried to mitigate his punishment by substituting death by decapitation. Calvin's letters to Farel of Aug. 20 and Oct. 20, 1555, proclaim his detestation of the cruelty of the Council of Geneva. Cer-

tainly Calvin denounced Servetus for his pantheistic teachings, but it is only fair to point out, in the words of M. Rilliet de Candolle, who published the complete report of the trial, that the only party in Christendom who urged his acquittal was that of the Libertines. Further, Sir Bertram's opinion of Cardinal de Tournon is not shared by his famous coreligionist, the contemporary historian De Thou, who brackets de Tournon with Diane de Poitiers as author and executor of the bloody Edict of Chateaubriand, perhaps the worst scourge the suffering Huguenots were ever called upon to endure.

For aught I know, Kepler may have "fled from the fury of his coreligionists at Tubingen \* \* \* to the Jesuits of Ingoldstadt, who received him with open arms." But the learned biographer of Kepler in the Encyclopaedia Britannica attributes the welcoming arms to Tycho Brahe, who, whatever else he may have been, was no Jesuit and who made Kepler his assistant at Prague, then a Protestant city. Indeed, but for the edict of banishment decreed by Archduke Ferdinand in 1597 against preachers and professors of the Reformed faith, Kepler would not have left his native land. By favor of the Jesuits he was reinstated—a very different condition of affairs.

\* \* \*

CURRENT HISTORY is the first American magazine to obtain a signed contribution from Leon Trotsky since he attained international prominence. The importance of the article is attested by the attention it is receiving from distinguished Americans in this issue.

\* \* \*

The penetrating analysis of the situation in Syria by Professor Quincy Wright, a member of the Board of Current History Associates, in this issue is the clearest statement of the present conditions in that country that has yet been presented to the American public. It is impartial. Both the point of view of the various Syrian groups and the position of the French are fairly presented. It is the result of a careful, exhaustive and conscientious effort to procure the facts

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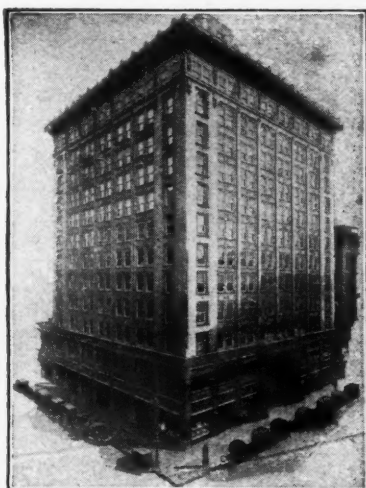
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\* \* \*

The Editor is deeply appreciative of the numerous letters of praise which are being received from CURRENT HISTORY readers. It is gratifying to have this evidence that the improvements in the magazine are recognized, demonstrating that our audience is observant and critical. The broadening interest in the magazine in intelligent circles throughout the world is manifested in diverse ways and encourages the Editors to persevere in their efforts further to augment its usefulness and interest.

\* \* \*

Muley Hassan, who was recently inaugurated at Tetuan, Morocco, as the new Caliph, was referred to in the December issue as "Carlos III." "This," writes G. R. Gonzalez of Brooklyn, N. Y., "is incorrect." The correspondent points out that the only relation which the term "Carlos III" bears to the Caliph's title is that the historic honor known as "The Spanish Order of Carlos III" was bestowed upon Muley Hassan at his inauguration by the Spanish Premier, Primo de Rivera. Mr. Gonzalez also objects to the "inference in the same issue of the magazine" that the restoration of constitutional Government in Spain did not relieve the nation from military rule. Mr. Gonzalez writes that the non-military elements dominate the new administration, "seven out of eleven Cabinet officers in Spain being civilians."

\* \* \*

Reginald Howe, writing from Montreal, Canada, thanks the Editor for printing the full text of the remarkable report on American economic supremacy by the President of the Federation of British Industries, and then goes on to question to what extent it is true to speak of prosperity in the United States. "Prosperity," Mr. Howe

says, "is a relative term that needs careful definition. In comparison with European countries the United States today is beyond doubt in an amazingly comfortable position. But does the prosperity of which Americans are so proud touch every class? Can it be truly said that the great mass of the lower-paid workmen and their womenfolk who have to earn wages is in as prosperous condition as the statistics of American wealth would suggest? The fact that some workmen have automobiles and radios should not obscure the still more important fact that especially among unskilled laborers greatly improved conditions are still urgently needed to raise the standard of civilization for the American people as a whole. No doubt the situation is full of promise. The greater diffusion of wealth which has spread out to the deeper levels is all to the good, but more diffusion is still needed. The activities and reports of philanthropic and charitable organizations still unfortunately disclose conditions among the poor that call for appeals to the generosity of the more affluent. I venture to think that prosperity in a genuinely national sense would make it unnecessary to issue such appeals. Nevertheless, as I said, the increased diffusion of wealth in the United States is a fact beyond dispute; and we can only hope that this tendency will grow in volume until this great land will be the first that can claim that it has abolished poverty. This, indeed, will be the supreme triumph of American democracy and will place the United States far in advance of any other country of the world."

\* \* \*

A graceful tribute reaches the Editor from Dr. David Jayne Hill, distinguished diplomat and author, who, in renewing his subscription to the magazine, says: "I could not on any terms do without CURRENT HISTORY."


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# "His Tail Between His Legs"

*What most men would see if they could see themselves*

**M**OST men are being whipped every day in the battle of life. Many have already reached the stage where they have **THEIR TAILS BETWEEN THEIR LEGS.**

They are afraid of everything and everybody. They live in a constant fear of being deprived of the pitiful existence they are leading. Vaguely they hope for **SOMETHING TO TURN UP** that will make them unafraid, courageous, independent.

While they hope vainly, they drift along, with no definite purpose, no definite plan, nothing ahead of them but old age. The scourings of life do not help such men. In fact, the more lashes they receive at the hands of fate, the more **COWED** they become.

What becomes of these men? They are the wage slaves. They are the "little-business" slaves, the millions of clerks, storekeepers, bookkeepers, laborers, assistants, secretaries, salesmen. They are the millions who work and sweat and—**MAKE OTHERS RICH AND HAPPY!**

The pity of it is, nothing can **SHAKE THEM** out of their complacency. Nothing can stir them out of the mental rut into which they have sunk.

Their wives, too, quickly lose ambition and become slaves—slaves to their kitchens, slaves to their children, slaves to their husbands—slaves to their homes. And with such examples before them, what hope is there for their children **BUT TO GROW UP INTO SLAVERY.**

Some men, however, after years of cringing, turn on life. They **CHALLENGE** the whipper. They discover, perhaps to their own surprise, that it isn't so difficult as they imagined, **TO SET A HIGH GOAL**—and reach it! Only a few try—it is true—but that makes it easier for those who **DO** try.

The rest quit. They show a yellow streak as broad as their backs. They are through—and in their hearts they know it. Not that they are beyond help, but that they have acknowledged defeat, laid down their arms, stopped using their heads, and have simply said to life, "Now do with me as you will."

What about **YOU?** Are you ready to admit that you are through? Are you content to sit back and wait for something to turn up? Have you shown a yellow streak in **YOUR** Battle of Life? Are you satisfied to keep your wife and children—and yourself—enslaved? **ARE YOU AFRAID OF LIFE?**

Success is a simple thing to acquire when you know its formula. The first ingredient is a grain of **COURAGE.** The second is a dash of **AMBITION.** The third is an ounce of **MENTAL EFFORT.** Mix the whole with your God-given faculties and no power on earth can keep you from your desires, be they what they may.

Most people actually use about **ONE-TENTH** of their brain capacity. It is as if they were deliberately trying to remain twelve years old mentally. They do not profit by the experience they have gained, nor by the experience of others.

You can develop these God-given faculties by yourself—without outside help; or you can do as **FIVE HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND** other people have done—study Pelmanism.

Pelmanism is the science of applied psychology, which has swept the world with the force of a religion. It is a fact that more than **550,000** people have become Pelmanists—all over the civilized world—and Pelmanism has awakened powers in them they did not **DREAM** they possessed.

Famous people all over the world advocate Pelmanism, men and women such as these:

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The late Sir H. Rider-Haggard, Famous novelist. Jerome K. Jerome, Novelist.



General Sir Robert Baden-Powell, Founder of the Boy Scout Movement.	Gen. Sir Frederick Maurice, Director of Military Operations, Imperial General Staff.
Judge Ben B. Lindsey, Founder of the Juvenile Court, Denver.	Admiral Lord Beresford, G. C. B., G. C. V. O.
Sir Harry Lauder, Comedian.	Baroness Orczy, Author.
W. L. George, Author.	Prince Charles of Sweden.

—and others, of equal prominence, too numerous to mention here.

A remarkable book called "Scientific Mind-Training," has been written about Pelmanism. **IT CAN BE OBTAINED FREE.** Yet thousands of people who read this announcement and who **NEED** this book will not send for it. "It's no use," they will say. "It will do me no good," they will tell themselves. "It's all tommyrot," others will say.

But if they use their **HEADS** they will realize that people cannot be **HELPED** by tommyrot and that there **MUST** be something in Pelmanism, when it has such a record behind it, and when it is endorsed by the kind of people listed above.

If you are made of the stuff that isn't content to remain a slave—if you have taken your last whipping from life,—if you have a spark of **INDEPENDENCE** left in your soul, write for this free book. It tells you what Pelmanism is, **WHAT IT HAS DONE FOR OTHERS**, and what it can do for you.

The first principle of **YOUR** success is to do something radical in your life. You cannot make just an ordinary move, for you will soon again sink into the mire of discouragement. Let Pelmanism help you **FIND YOURSELF.** Mail the coupon below now—now while your resolve to **DO SOMETHING ABOUT YOURSELF** is strong.

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# Current History Chronicles

[The Editor assumes no responsibility for unsolicited manuscripts unless accompanied by return postage. Anonymous communications will be disregarded, but the names of correspondents will be withheld from publication upon request.]

THE reader will observe that the Editors are putting greater stress on the unique feature of CURRENT HISTORY in embodying two magazines in one periodical. Part II of CURRENT HISTORY consists of a magazine which is written by a board of expert historians, and which has now been given the subtitle of The Historians' Chronicle of the World. It is veritably that. The Chronicle is a record of the outstanding events in all the nations of the world described by experts, scholars who have won honors as historians, distinguished members of the Faculties of fourteen of America's leading universities. It is an original undertaking in the field of periodical journalism and carries an authority which the eminence of the producers compels. The assembling of the facts is the work of correspondents and diplomats, and the editors assisted energetically by the historians themselves. The editors are gratified by the interest and earnestness of the Board of CURRENT HISTORY Associates in this work and the enthusiasm which their work has aroused among scholars, students and intelligent men and women in all walks of life.

\* \* \*

Professor E. Richard Page of Oklahoma State University, Norman, Okla., writes to the Editor in commendation of United States Representative Burton's article, "Curbing Crime in the United States," which appeared in the January issue. Professor Page takes exception, however, to the author's suggestion that the limitation of the sale of firearms helps to curb crime. On the contrary, he holds that the reverse is true:

The favorite popular method advocated by would-be reformers for suppressing crime is to limit the sale of pistols and revolvers. This is doubtless due to the fact that pistols are used in connection with many crimes, though plenty of other weapons are available. Also because a larger percentage of the population are unfamiliar with pistols and revolvers than formerly, therefore suggestions that the sale of hand weapons be limited in order to suppress crime meets with a ready response. Reformers claim that by limiting the traffic in guns criminals would no longer use them, doubtless in just the same way that prohibition has stopped the consumption of alcoholic drinks.

The Sullivan law was mentioned as being almost an ideal law; it is, for the criminals. I lived in New York State for a number of years and though I took little interest in the Sullivan law at that time I heard it stated many times that the criminals were largely responsible for its enactment, though such facts were not published from the pulpit and press. It is interesting to note that it never produced the desired effect.

It has also been proposed to prohibit the sale of certain cartridges. Let us assume that this did happen and that all cartridge shells were destroyed that could be used in hand weapons, so that reloading could not be resorted to. The muzzle-loading weapon could be revived. It is interesting to note that a

muzzle-loading pistol is very easy to construct; almost any country blacksmith could make one in a few hours. Common black powder is quite easily made from materials readily procurable from almost any country store. Toy pistol caps are very effective in the absence of percussion caps. The slow-match of matchlock days could be used in the absence of other means of discharging the weapon.

The great objection to the gun, in so far as the criminal is concerned, is the noise. An air pistol would be more desirable, and such a weapon is procurable now in small calibre.

Then again the humble bow and arrow might be revived. This has been so long out of use (it is being revived now) that few realize what a powerful weapon it is. Not, of course, the kind we had in our boyhood days, but real weapons. A strong bow, folding in form so that it can be readily concealed, may be readily made, and with suitable arrows this ancient weapon would be very effective in absence of firearms.

Such weapons as those suggested above are obsolete and will remain so because more effective means are available. I refer to smoke, tear and other types of bombs. Even now the use of bombs by criminals may be noted from time to time in the daily press. Consider what would happen to the occupants of an automobile should a smoke or tear bomb be dropped into it. In two or three seconds they would be helpless and could be robbed with impunity. They would suffer no lasting ill effect and it would be harder to secure convictions for the criminal than it is now. Even so simple a thing as stronger ammonia, which may readily be ejected from a pocket squirt-gun a distance of fifteen or twenty feet, is certainly effective on the recipient. A knowledge of modern chemistry will reveal the fact that the criminally inclined have a wide choice of effective means for rendering a person helpless for a short time, especially if firearms are not available for defense.

Why is it that during the '50s, '60s and '70s, when pocket weapons were much more commonly carried than now, so few crimes were committed?

I will make the bold statement that in ten to twenty years from now few guns will be used by the criminals, not because laws may be enacted prohibiting their use, but because more effective means will be available.

Prohibiting the traffic in guns will certainly be no more effective in curbing crime than the Volstead act has been in stopping the use of alcoholic drinks. We would also have a new crop of bootleggers. At the same time the law-abiding citizen would be more at the mercy of the lawless than ever.

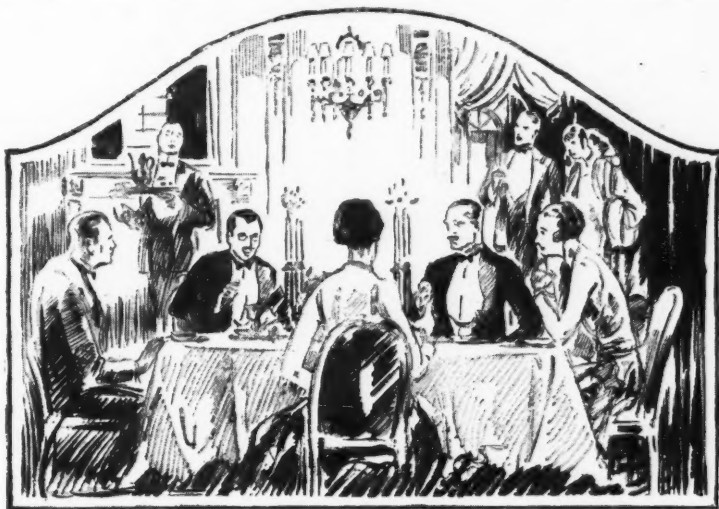
I, for one, would gladly vote to do away with pistols if by so doing crime would be reduced. It would seem to me that a more effective means would be to encourage those who are qualified in the use of arms to possess them. It is very apparent that the criminal is more afraid of a gun than he is of what the courts will do to him.

\* \* \*

The "new dress" of CURRENT HISTORY is the theme of an interesting comment by A. J. Fehrenbach in an article entitled, "Critical Comment on Printed Specimens," which he contributes to the Feb. 5 issue of The American Printer. Mr. Fehrenbach's remarks follow:

Continued on Page xviii.





## “He Seems to Know About *Everything*”

**N**O wonder they are fascinated, amazed. He talks so well on so many different subjects. He quotes from so many different authors. He discusses intelligently all the topics in which people are most interested.

How well-read he must be! He knows about art, literature, drama, history, philosophy. He can entertain people hours at a time by his conversation. Among these people who are so active in business and social life, with so little time to read, he is envied, admired. How can he spare the time to read so much? Where does he get all his information?

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A right difficult problem in typographic design has been mastered in arranging the title of the new cover of *CURRENT HISTORY*. In the making of this cover design the artist coped with the problem of two words of equal emphasis and the same number of letters. The treatment shown is most interesting. We have here the word "Current" and the word "History," both standing out perfectly related in the manner of handling. The word "History" has more emphasis due to its being in capitals, and the word "Current," because of italicized lettering, signifies far more. It is evident that this treatment was approached thoughtfully and philosophically. The balance of the cover is chaste and beautiful in the sharpness of detail. Here is a demonstration of authentic handling of Caslon Old Style, both in the type which is superimposed over the tint block and in the table of contents placed in the "Colonial cupboard" panel. The magazine achieves real distinction and prominence through this dignified design and finish. In bringing out this handsome cover, *CURRENT HISTORY* lines itself up with other leading monthly quality magazines which have bloomed forth lately in new dress.

\* \* \*

Apropos of the projected visit to the United States during the Spring of the Swedish Crown Prince and Princess, one reader sends some interesting observations upon Sweden's royal house. This correspondent writes:

It is interesting to note that King Oscar I of Sweden, son of Bernadotte, founder of the Swedish dynasty, married Princess Josephine Beauharnais, daughter of Prince Eugene Beauharnais and granddaughter of the French Empress Josephine, Napoleon the Great's wife. The first three Kings of the Bernadotte dynasty spread the French influence and culture in Sweden; the next two Kings were German in their sympathies and spread German culture in Sweden; now the predominating influence in Sweden is English, and English literature and culture are all the fashion. This English influence dates from the Crown Prince of Sweden's first marriage to Princess Margaret of Connaught, sister of Princess Patricia and first cousin of King George V of Great Britain. She was very much beloved in Sweden and had great influence there. She died in 1920, leaving four sons and a daughter. The eldest son is now 20 years old. The Crown Prince wanted another English wife and so he married Lady Louise Mountbatten in London in 1923. She is a second cousin of King George and a sister of Princess Andrew of Greece. She has no children. Another interesting branch of the Swedish royal family is that of Prince Charles of Sweden, a brother of the present Swedish King, Gustavus V. Prince Charles's youngest daughter, Princess Astrid, is said to be the destined bride of the Prince of Wales, though it is not yet officially announced. Astrid is a very pretty girl of 20—twelve years younger than the Prince of Wales. The marriage would be very popular in England because Astrid is of a Northern race and is also the great-niece of the late Queen Alexandra. Astrid's mother was born Princess Ingeborg of Denmark, daughter of King Frederick VIII of Denmark and niece of Queen Alexandra.

\* \* \*

Justin Balsavage of Wilkes-Barre, Pa., deplores the lack of knowledge of conditions in the Baltic region, which, he says, is manifest among Americans. This reader finds this condition especially noticeable with regard to Lithuania and that nation's fight for possession of the City of Vilna. He writes:

The City of Vilna, which is now occupied by the Poles and claimed as their territory,

is one of the most wonderful cities in the world and was formerly the capital of Lithuania. This city and territory, which now are Polish, should be given back to Lithuania, as Vilna is rightfully their capital city. A new movement is under way in Lithuania, according to a statement which recently appeared in *The Chicago Daily News*, to regain Vilna for Lithuania. The article in question states that the Foreign Commissioner of Russia promised to the Premier of Lithuania Russia's aid in restoring the city to Lithuania. Russia as well as the rest of the countries of Europe and Asia knows that Vilna rightly belongs to Lithuania and is the heart of that country. Knowing the beauty and the importance of the city, the Poles, through a military coup and their selfishness, drove the Lithuanians out, claiming the city as theirs. However, not only through the League of Nations, of which both Poland and Lithuania are members, but through help from other sources, Lithuania is hopeful of regaining that which is hers. The Poles, with the aid of the French, have not only disregarded all treaties but have also paid no attention to the orders of the League of Nations to evacuate Vilna.

\* \* \*

Miss Eve E. Sorensen, author of the article entitled "The Dawn of Haiti's New Era," in the December issue, was referred to in advertising material as "formerly engaged in agricultural organization work in Haiti." She should have been referred to as "formerly engaged in educational work in Haiti."

\* \* \*

The Editor of *CURRENT HISTORY* seeks to enlist the cooperation of the recognized leaders in the various fields of social, political and intellectual activity in the presentation of the events and developments of contemporary life. In a discussion of the standards of American business, the head of the greatest business organization of this country and, for that matter, the greatest industrial corporation in the world, Judge Elbert H. Gary, Chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, is the spokesman. His contribution to the present issue of this magazine is an important exposition of the changing standards developing in American economic life. Walter Prichard Eaton, who writes on the American theatre, is one of the most authoritative writers on American theatrical affairs and an accomplished dramatic critic. Who can speak of Spanish affairs with more weight than Primo de Rivera, the Premier of Spain? Miss Christina Merriam, who records the progressive steps which led to the Locarno pacts, is the Secretary of the Foreign Policy Association, and has facilities to secure the facts from fundamental sources second to no one in this country. K. K. Kawakami, who writes on Russia's exploitation of China, is one of the most distinguished journalists of Japan and leading Japanese newspaper correspondent in the United States. He is at the same time continuously in the closest touch with the affairs of the Far East. And so on through the entire list of contributors to this issue. In each instance the writer is in a position to procure facts from original sources and so put forward a point of view that is informed by first-hand knowledge of the subject.

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